Congressman from INDIA

D S SAUND

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Dedicated to my beloved wife

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PREFACE

This book is the simple story of the struggles sorrows and joys defeats and recoveries of a twenty year old native of India who came to the United States and nearly twoscore years later became a United States congressman

My guideposts were two of the most beloved men in history Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi My constant inspiration was the memory of my wise though unlettered mother who had loved me dearly and taught me the lessons in good living

I received my inner joys and support from a devoted wife who knew how to chide and guide Thirty years ago she had married me not for money position or prospect for these I had none Kipling said East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" Clearly he was wrong for a Saund from the East met a Kosa from the West God blessed them with three marvelous children

In private life I have never known a verbal or physical quarrel or fight with anyone My religion teaches me that love and service to fellow men are the road to earthly bliss and spiritual salvation

Lincoln said once Be satisfied with skim milk if you cannot get cream" I have had to live on skim milk on occasion in life

and found it both sweet and nourishing Gandhi said "I love my enemies" In my political battles I have found it impossible to malign or belittle my opponents Yet I have won every contest against heavy odds

Two of the greatest satisfactions in my professional life came first when my children together with my daughter in law and son in law volunteered to ring doorbells for me in the campaign in 1956 and second when in that same election the citizens of my own small home town of Westmorland my neighbors of thirty years voted over 80 per cent in my favor as an expression of their confidence

I find comfort in the Declaration of Independence and hope for mankind in the great inalienable truths expressed in the Bill of Rights

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CONGRESSMAN FROM INDIA

I

BEGINNINGS IN INDIA

It was ten thirty on the evening of November 24 1957 when the plane from Rangoon Burma landed on the airport of Calcutta India I had strange feelings of joy and anticipation for I was about to set foot on the soil of India the land of my birth after an absence of thirty seven years As the plane came to a stop I could see that a large crowd had gathered When my wife my daughter and I stepped off the plane photographers flash bulbs popped and we could hear the grinding of the movie cameras Hundreds of people were milling about us with flower garlands in their hands The first person to reach and embrace me was my bearded younger brother

It was a really grand home coming reception and welcome for a former son of India now a member of the United States Congress and a joyous occasion for me and my family We were deeply touched and sincerely overwhelmed by the spirited and enthusiastic ovation given us by the crowd at the airport

Our plane was scheduled to arrive at four forty in the afternoon but we were six hours late Later we learned that

from four in the afternoon till dark the streets of Calcutta had been lined with people many of them young students waiting to welcome us

Throughout our three day stay in Calcutta we were guests at a score or more receptions given by leaders of civic and business groups and we even lunched with the governor of Bengal in the old historic Viceregal Palace of India Such was the occasion of my arrival in the land of my birth after a long happy and rewarding stay in the United States of America

I was particularly eager to visit the small village in the state of Punjab where I was born and meet and talk of old times together with the few surviving relatives and friends of childhood days But one person who had loved me the most and whom I would have wanted above all else to meet was no more My mother had died ten years previously I have always carried the memory of my last conversation with her in the summer of 1920 The picture of my mother sitting on a low stool, saying good by to me trying bravely to suppress her tears came often to my mind Her last words to me were "Son make friends everywhere and no enemies"

My mother was a very devout and religious person but she had no formal education Indeed she could not read or write her own name This was also true of my father My parents had been brought up in an age when India had passed into a new era an era of British colonialism In early times history tells us there was a provision in the tax system of the country requiring each village to retain enough funds from the land revenue to hire a schoolteacher to instruct the village youth But with the advent of British rule the system of taxation was centralized and there was no money left for education Thus there were no schools in the villages in the years when my parents were growing up

By the time I reached school age my father and my two uncles had become comparatively wealthy as government

contractors constructing canals and other public works and they as private citizens, had endowed a small one-room schoolhouse They had also offered to pay the salary of a village schoolmaster Thus the children of Chhajalwadi had the opportunity for primary education

My father and mother may have been illiterate but they were nonetheless well versed in the ancient traditions and culture of India My mother could recite many long and significant passages from the old hymns and songs of Indian and Sikh literature Her favorite verse which I heard many times and which became a part of my teaching, may be roughly translated thus

> There is only one God and He is the source of all Light and Life. From one source spring all beings. We are children of one Father How can one be high and another low? Who is good and who is bad?
>
> Myself I impose no fear on anyone I am afraid of no one when I fully understand the meaning of such behavior then shall I become a true philosopher

My parents not having had the advantages of education shared one single burning ambition to provide their children with the best school and college education possible The only time I can recall my father giving me a colding or a spanking was when I once hid in a cotton field and refused to go to school at the village a half mile away I was only ten when my father died and my memories of him are dim But his burning interest in our education stayed bright in my mind.

My early life in the village was very simple My mother had raised a family of seven children, four boys and three girls There were no nurses or doctors in the village and all she knew of hygiene the treatment and care of children s di eases and safeguards from the epidemics was what she had absorbed from her own mother and the neighbors around the village

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and hotels that I have visited throughout the world Our food consisted mostly of vegetables and greens plenty of milk, buttermilk, curdled milk, and butter In the northern part of India rice is not the staple food but is served only on special occasions and is considered a delicacy

One of the staples of the diet in Punjab is a pancake called rotee My mother used to make the most delicious rotees I have ever tasted Other members of the family and children were always fed first before Mother would eat her meal, and to this day I cannot understand the logic of Mother always eating the stale one day-old rotees In answer to my question she said Son we cannot waste food. These rotees when they are warmed are just as good and fresh and Mother likes to eat them " But why eat the stale of yesterday and make the leftovers of today stale for tomorrow I could never understand

My family ate meat The only kind of meat available was goat meat and poultry but meat was a special dish We had it once a month on the average My mother never tasted meat in her life and yet she could cook it and cook it well, for the rest of the family

Sugar cane was a special favorite with us In the wintertime when sugar cane was in season I remember that as boys we would go and sit in the middle of the sugar cane field, cut the sugar cane knock off the straw peel it with our teeth and chew it It was a most marvelous and delicious pastime

My family was exceptionally fortunate in having a small grove of trees on our land We had tangerines oranges grapefruit—none of the Arizona California and Florida variety but pomelos of the Far East and India variety I loved going to the grove and picking the ripe fruit fresh from the trees Fresh fruit was a real delicacy in that part of the world, for on the whole such fruit was not available to the villagers of Punjab We had a few lime trees in our garden and I recall seeing

people walk several miles to get a lime to use for medicinal purposes The mango is the one fruit common to just about all parts of India and farmers grow mangoes on their farms for their own use *As boys I remember we used to sit under a* mango tree and eat mangoes by the bushel Then quite a number of farmers grew a few vines of cantaloupes and water melons We used to pick the cantaloupes fully ripe and chill them by letting them float in the cool stream of fresh well water as it was being pumped from the wells for irrigation There was no refrigeration no ice was available in the village and I recall that one of our special delights was to go and buy some ice from the railroad train as it stopped at the station a few miles away

Such was the village life of India where I was reared by an unlettered but devoted and loving mother who nonetheless knew the art of raising children My mother was the only doc tor or dentist I knew Her success may be judged by the fact that I was twenty nine years old when I first had to sit in a dentist s chair

It has been said that in India teachers and preachers will never starve It is quite literally true and as a tradition goes back to the ancient days of India s history after the exodus of the Aryans from central Asia to the plains of India In the elaborate caste system of the Hindus the top caste were the *Brahmans* who became the teachers and preachers of the Hindu society And because of their superior learning and understanding of the history and literature of India promi nent Brahmans occupied responsible positions of power in government as the ministers of kings and emperors In the rules of caste the early leaders of India made it an edict that no Brahman should ever possess any personal or real property *For that reason the needs and personal wants of the Brahman* the teacher and the preacher have always received prece dence in the Hindu way of life If a teacher or a preacher comes

to a villager s home the villager will afford him the best accommodations in the household and see that the visitor is served first and with the best possible fare A story is told of a Catholic friar who was traveling in northern India During a hot summer day this missionary for Christ became tired and spreading his sheet lay down to rest under a banyan tree a mile outside the village A little girl saw the friar lying in the shade of the tree and told her mother The mother immediately sent the girl with a jug of fresh cool water and some fresh fruit in a basket When after a few hours of restful sleep the tired friar awoke he saw a little girl swinging a small fan over him and watching the basket of fruit and the jug of fresh water The little girl s mother did not inquire what the religion of the stranger was It was her dharma her religious duty to give the preacher the gift of fruit and fresh cold water and to send her daughter to fan him against the heat of the day

Sister Nivedeta Mrs Margaret Noble who wrote several books on Indian culture and religion made her home in the native quarters of Calcutta while making a study of India s past In recounting her experiences she says that when she first arrived in Calcutta she would find a basket of fruit and a jug of fresh cold milk in front of her door each morning and she never found out who the donor was What she did not know was that it was the dharma of the neighbors to provide for the simple necessities of the student It did not matter whether or not she was their friend or what her opinions concerning their culture might be It mattered only that she was a student and it was therefore their religious duty to take care of her

How many other simple customs and taboos in the quiet life of northern India derive their origin from the basic hygienic and social needs of the community I remember being taught as a child that if a man ever defiled the shade under a

tree the devil would possess him So it is that shade trees along India s roads and thoroughfares furnish a clean place of rest for weary travelers seeking shelter from the hot sun Often we used to see devout religious people going about with brooms to sweep the space under the trees for travelers and strangers to use for rest and relaxation During the after noon hours it was the custom of the elders of the village to gather under the banyan trees and discuss ancient philosophy religion and modern politics I remember eavesdropping on the elders and occasionally someone would start reciting and singing the ancient hymns

After one of these sessions an elderly uncle of mine told me "Son you can drink your own cow s milk one hundred miles away from the village Naturally I questioned this How can you drink your own cow s milk a hundred miles away from the village?" I asked 'The milk would turn sour within a few hours and it would take at least ten days to travel one hundred miles

Son my old uncle answered me when a man passing through your village from a hundred miles away is thirsty and tired you invite him to your home and offer him a glass of milk He will drink your milk and enjoy it and thank you Then when someday you are traveling in his village he will offer you a glass of milk there You will in truth be drinking your own cow s milk"

I remember another time being angry at a classmate One of the village elders overheard me muttering and cursing The old headman listened to me for a while and then said Son come here I want to show you something" I followed him as he climbed up a few steps onto the platform of a well and said Son sit here look down into this well and repeat what I say" I did Son say Good morning sir how are you this bright day?' " The well echoed back Good morning sir how are you this bright day?" Then the headman said Say You

damn fool you look silly and crazy to me I repeated the same and the echo came back repeating my words The head man said Son that is how when you grow up you will find the world to be In contact with people you will hear your own echo as you heard it from this well"

How many times during my life have I regretted that I failed to remember the remarks of the old headman in my village Often we court difficulties and troubles and create animosities by making gratuitous and unkind remarks about others Invariably the world will send the same back to us as the well did to that little boy in Punjab India

My family was very fond of fine Arabian horses and we had several good riding horses in our stable My father s favorite was the blue mare He used to take special and tender care of her at all times and would spend several hours every day keeping her and the other horses clean and brushed and in good trim My brother who was five years older than I was a very good horseman He used to ride Father s favorite blue mare bareback and I delighted in riding behind him holding tight around his waist One afternoon we were riding out in the fields when I said Brother why don t you do what Father always does and make the horse gallop? Hit her with the spurs and let the reins loose He did and though he was a good horseman he was not so heavy as Father and when I lost my balance and pulled him down we both fell I fell on his leg and it broke at the thigh He groaned in pain I can t sit up he said

I ran home as fast as I could It was late afternoon and my father had just returned from the city of Amritsar He took two helpers with him and together they carried my brother back to the house There my father all by himself set the broken leg, applied a splint and tied it The next day a surgeon and physician Dr Satyapal was summoned from Amritsar He checked my brother s leg, the bandage and

the splint and pronounced it an excellent piece of bone setting and said that nothing need be changed or disturbed My brother recovered successfully and in his school years won several championships in quarter and half mile races and be came a better than average soccer and cricket player At no time did he show any sign of weakness in that broken leg

My father had learned the art of bonesetting from one of the elders of the village He used to mend the broken limbs not only of human beings but animals and used neither chloroform nor sedative How he managed to set the leg of a thirteen year old child I do not know but it was done

I was not altogether a model boy in my younger years I had my share of quarrels and fights and disappointments in the life of the village After finishing primary school my cousins and I were all sent to the boarding school in Amritsar sixteen miles away for our secondary school education I was eight years of age and came back to the village for the summer vaca tion During the warm summer evenings the boys of the vil lage used to go out into the plowed fields to play One of the games we played involved setting up goals by piling up clods in piles ten feet apart The teams would line up facing each other A player would then go over to the opposing side hold ing his breath and repeat loudly Kabadi kabadi He could go in and wander among and chase any member of the op posing team and if he touched one of them the man was out But he had to continue holding his breath and keep on saying 'kabadi loudly and he had to return to his own side before running out of breath If he lost his breath or stopped saying "kabadi a player on the opposite side could tag him out by just touching him

I wanted very much to play with the village boys Grudg ingly they let me join but they resented my attitude and my dress for I wore clean white clothes and as a student I ap peared altogether different from the rest of the boys So no

matter how much I wanted to be liked by the other boys they all picked on me I was shoved aside by one thrown down by another They used every excuse to get at me By the time the evening was over I was bruised, my clothes were soiled and torn and my spirit was crushed, and I went home crying to my mother I put my arms around her neck, sobbing

Son tell me what happened?" she asked

I told her and she pushed me away saying Son, you went out to play with boys of your own age and came home crying Let that be the first and the last time When you go out to play with other boys you ve got to take care of yourself—if you can t just stay away"

During World War I Great Britain had promised the people of India a measure of self government at the conclusion of the war as a reward for their wartime loyalty to the Empire As a consequence leaders of the Indian nationalist movement, represented by the Indian National Congress suspended their agitation for self rule and actively participated in the war effort The soldiers of India fought heroically in all war theaters in defense of the Empire

At the conclusion of the hostilities the government of David Lloyd George changed its attitude toward the Indian Nationalists and instead of fulfilling its promise of self government for India instituted a campaign to suppress the nationalist movement This was coincident to similar actions taken in other parts of the Empire such as Palestine and Ireland

The Viceroy of India, without even bothering to consult the Indian members of the central legislature by his sole authority promulgated and certified into law what was known as the Rowlatt Acts These Acts not only curbed the freedom of the press but also suspended the right of free assembly throughout India as a precaution against the rising nationalist

movement Indian political leaders and the people generally looked on the Acts as an outrage against their national honor Protest meetings were held throughout the country and resolutions were passed condemning the action of the British Government and the Viceroy

At this time a hitherto little-known advocate of Indian independence Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came to the forefront of the Indian nationalist struggle He had won some attention as a leader of the Indians in South Africa in their protest against discrimination by the government of South Africa

It is the custom in India and has been for centuries for the people to observe a national day of mourning—say for example on the occasion of the death of a well loved prince or king—by holding an all day fast It was Gandhi s idea to use this ancient custom as a vehicle of protest and he therefore called upon the people of India to observe Sunday April 6 1919 as a day of national mourning for the people of India He asked the people to assemble peaceably and pass resolutions protesting the passage of the Rowlatt Acts As a result meetings were held throughout India and the people gathered to hear speeches by their political leaders protesting the repressive measures of the British Government In some places alas there was violence The nearby city Amritsar was one such place

Fearing a rising of the nationalist movement under the leadership of two of the town s leading citizens one a medical doctor the other a distinguished scholar the resident British commissioner in Amritsar ordered these two men arbitrarily arrested When news of the arrest spread through the town a large mob assembled in protest and started marching toward the commissioner s residence While it was crossing the bridge over the railroad the mob was fired on by the police under the orders of the British superintendent of police Several

persons were killed The people immediately became violent and scattered to different parts of the town. They burned the British buildings and murdered the two resident English managers of the two English banks in the city The commis sioner forthwith proclaimed martial law in the city

Next Sunday April 13 was the Baisakhi day in India, a day equivalent to New Year s Day in the Western World On this day as was customary people from the surrounding villages assembled in Amritsar The city was the home of the Sikhs and had the golden temple and was therefore a place of pilgrim age So on this day in 1919 thousands of people had gathered in Amritsar As it happened the political leaders of the Indian nationalist movement announced that on this very same day there would be a public mass meeting in Jallianwalla Bagh an open enclosure in the heart of the city When this became known to the English general in charge of the area, he banned the meeting Notices were posted throughout Amritsar and the general s proclamations were marked by the beating of the drums in the streets

The meeting was held in spite of the order of the general and when he heard about it, he left his headquarters a few miles outside of the city limits with a contingent of soldiers armed with rifles Some fifteen thousand unarmed people were gathered together listening to the speeches The general im mediately ordered a volley of rifle fire into the throng The crowd began to disperse and run for shelter In the confusion and rush to get away hundreds of people fell or were pushed into two low wells in the area Those who tried to climb out of the enclosure over a wall were shot down as the general directed the fire wherever the crowd was the thickest Seven hundred and fifty people were killed and several thousand wounded

In the subsequent investigation of this incident, which be came known as the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre the general

appeared before Lord Hunter s investigating committee and was asked the question "Why did you start shooting?"

I wanted to disperse the mob because they had defied my order

Why did you continue shooting when the mob started to disperse?"

I wanted to show them the might of British rule " the general replied

When did you stop shooting?"

'When my ammunition ran out

Thanks to the vigilance of the British censors news of the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre took several weeks to reach England and other parts of the world

The reaction in the United Kingdom itself was very strange A leading English newspaper initiated a subscription for a fund to be awarded to the general Subsequently the general was retired from service in the British Army of India on full pension to be paid out of the taxes collected from the people whom he had so mercilessly and unjustifiably murdered When he reached England he was awarded the equivalent of $50 000 in cash and a jeweled sword from the money collected through the newspaper s subscription in recognition of his gallantry and bravery in behalf of the Empire

The people of India were deeply shocked It was said that the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre had stirred the big heart of India to a boiling point In protest even the moderates who had hitherto been friendly toward the British revolted against British rule in India Among them was Sir Rabindranath Tagore one of the great poets of India He had been knighted previously by the King for his loyalty to the Empire and his accomplishments as a poet and writer He immediately resigned his knighthood and returned all the orders he had received from the King and the Empire Others in high places in the government of India resigned their positions and the

nationalist movement took on a truly united national flavor Such great and famous Indian lawyers as C R Das in Bengal and Pandit Motilal New Nehru the late father of the present Prime Minister of India gave up their law practices donated their entire properties to the cause of Indian nationalism and joined the movement of Mahatma Gandhi Motilal Nehru s palatial home became the headquarters of the Indian National Congress and Nehru Sr himself traveled throughout India urging people to join the nationalist cause

Gandhi became the popular hero of the Indian people and it was they who gave him the unofficial title of Mahatma or the Great Soul He protested against being called Mahatma but the people were not to be denied and the cry of national ists all over the country became *Mahatma Gandhiji kee jai*— Long Live Mahatma Gandhi!

Mahatma Gandhi was born of wealthy parents in the west ern part of India His father was the prime minister of a native state He was educated in India and later finished his studies and was admitted to the bar in the Inner Temple of London He practiced law briefly in India and then went to South Africa where he became famous as a leader of his people against the discrimination of the British Government of South Africa In 1902 Gandhi announced to the world that he was going to espouse poverty He gave all his worldly possessions to charity and vowed that from then on he was going to live as simple a life as the poorest of his people He dressed in cheap garments and slept on the floor He wanted to identify himself with the humblest of his own people

Mahatma Gandhi was a great leader of men and the secret of his greatness lay in the fact that through a long period of self discipline he had completely mastered himself and his passions Throughout his long period as leader of the Indian nationalist movement he was never known to have uttered one word of anger or shown any resentment or passion in any way

When he came to the forefront of the Indian political movement he gave to the people of India a new method of achieving their political independence He called his movement passive resistance and non cooperation with the British Government of India He had been a student of Thoreau and had corresponded during his early years with Count Tolstoy Thoreau once wrote that when the officer has resigned his office and the subject has refused allegiance revolution is accomplished That is exactly what Mahatma Gandhi started to do in India The emphasis in Mahatma Gandhi s movement was on self discipline and nonviolence under all circumstances As he himself once said When nonviolence teaches us to love our enemies by nonviolent non cooperation we seek to conquer the wrath of English administrators and their supporters We must love them and pray to God that they might have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error It must be the prayer of the strong and not of the weak. In our strength must we humble ourselves before our Maker In the moment of our trials let me declare my faith I believe in loving my enemies I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he professes to feel behind the machine gun There is only one God for us all and He is a God of love and truth I do not hate an Englishman I have spoken much against his institutions especially the one he has set up in India But you must not mistake my condemnation of the system for that of the man My religion requires me to love him as I love myself I have no interest in living except to prove this faith in me I would deny God if I do not attempt to prove it at this critical moment

At one time an English missionary put this question to Mahatma Gandhi Mr Gandhi where did you receive your inspiration for your movement of passive resistance?" Without

any hesitation he replied By reading the Sermon on the Mount"

The enemies of Indian nationalism branded Mahatma Gandhi s movement as visionary He was called a charlatan a hypocrite an unscrupulous educator and a disguised autocrat The vast number of his followers were branded as dumb cattle

The British Government of India fought the rising tide of Indian nationalism with harsh and bitter countermeasures Thousands of Gandhi s followers among them the most educated and highly respected citizens of India were jailed and other thousands were unmercifully flogged In some cases they were even shot for no other offense than that of wearing the coarse and hand spun Gandhi cap and singing the Indian national hymn But in spite of all the oppressive measures used by the British Government of India Mahatma Gandhi s influence grew until the masses of India were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of nationalism and determined to follow their leader under his principles of nonviolent noncooperation Mahatma Gandhi had set as his goal the development in the people of India of a spirit of self discipline and sacrifice When this had been achieved he planned to call upon them to refuse to obey the British laws and refuse to pay taxes In that way would he bring the British Government of India to a standstill and win his goal of achieving national independence

Gandhi s theory is illustrated by an incident that grew out of the days of martial law in Amritsar in 1919 At that time the commanding officer ordered that all persons passing through a certain alley where an Englishwoman once had been assaulted by a furious mob should be made to crawl on their bellies Those living in the neighborhood had submitted to this humiliation at the point of British bayonets

When Mahatma Gandhi visited Amritsar he told the people

You Punjabis with your tall muscular bodies you who call yourselves brave submitted to this soul degrading order I am a small man and my physique is very weak I weigh less than a hundred pounds But there is no power in this world that can make me crawl on my belly The general s soldiers could have bound my body in chains and put me in jail or with their swords they could have taken my life but if they had ordered me to crawl on my belly I would have said Oh foolish men don t you see God has given me two feet to walk upon? Why shall I crawl on my belly? Thus Gandhi drew the distinction between the coward and the passive resister The coward submits to force through fear while the passive resister submits to force under protest

In 1930 Mahatma Gandhi staged his famous salt march to the sea Even though there were several natural deposits of salt in the mountains of India and India is surrounded on three sides by ocean no one except the British Government itself was permitted to make any salt In fact salt was brought to India from the mines of Manchester England as ships ballast The ships went from India to England loaded with raw materials on the way back they would bring only manufactured materials and salt served as ballast Salt thus became a monopoly of the British Government and yet the people of India were so poor they could not afford to buy enough salt for their needs It was a cruel oppression that all people could understand So Mahatma Gandhi announced that he was going to break that law To do it he was going to march to the sea and make a pinch of salt by boiling a bucket of water

Mahatma Gandhi led a pilgrimage on foot over two hundred miles to the sea preaching his message on the way Eventually he reached Bombay and the seashore He walked to the edge of the water dipped up a bucket of water boiled it and made a pinch of salt thus defying the British law It was a signal for people all over India to disobey the established British salt laws

Gandhi s aim was to remove from the minds of his people the terror of British rule He knew once he had punctured the *bubble of John Bull s bluff in India half the battle* would be won In any event, his appeal to the people of India was im mediate and universal and I along with most of my fellow students became an ardent and active follower Like them I vowed to obey Gandhi s edict and never accept any service in the British Government of India

I must confess that as late as 1917 when I was a junior in college despite my interest in political affairs my knowledge of the United States of America was next to nothing I knew little beyond the fact that Washington D C was the capital The British rulers of my country had thought it highly im portant that English history be thoroughly taught the youth of India but they did not think it important to pay any great attention to the American Revolution—a revolution which in my opinion, has done more to bring joy and dignity into the lives of men than anything that has happened before or since in recorded history

After the United States had joined the allies in World War I the newspapers of India began to carry the speeches of Woodrow Wilson and I soon became a profound admirer of the American war president I read his speeches over and over and over again until I could literally repeat them from memory His inspiring ideas and ideals—"make the world safe for democracy" "the war to end war" and "self-determination for all peoples"—appealed to my young heart. I hung a picture of Woodrow Wilson in my study and through him I became acquainted with another great American war president Abra ham Lincoln Indeed I once made an overnight railroad trip to the University of Punjab to get two books on Abraham Lincoln and American history I read the life story of that great man and studied his writings Americans may perhaps take the Gettysburg Address for granted To a young Indian

college student it was a revelation and inspiration It remains so to this day

I was a student at the Prince of Wales College at Jammu in 1919 when the Big Four were conducting the Conference of Versailles One of the topics of our college debating group was Would Wilson succeed with his 14 Points?" I along with many of my friends could not believe that the British would be willing to consent to the principle of Freedom of the seas nor Wilson s desire for Open covenants openly arrived at"

In that period another famous American s life came into focus Theodore Roosevelt died and shortly afterward I came across a review of his life story in an illustrated London magazine I was charmed by the personality of this colorful man and deeply impressed by his courage and determination to overcome all obstacles to achieve success

One story impressed me particularly In the course of an address to a group of high school students he remarked that he had seen a word on the door of the auditorium when he entered that could be a guide to their lives

The students looked at the door and saw the word Pull and thought that was the word to which he referred No said Roosevelt I mean the word Push which is on the other side

These scraps and pieces about American life and American leaders gleaned from books newspapers and magazines left a deep impression on me But Lincoln s words in the Gettysburg Address Government of the people by the people and for the people" had particular meaning India at that time had no jury trial and the practice of habeas corpus did not exist Under British rule anyone could be taken into custody and his whereabouts kept secret from relatives and friends

Nor was there such a thing as free elections In fact, Indians had no voice in the selection of local state or national officials

Lincoln changed the entire course of my life Defiant of the wishes of my parents who wanted me to join the service of the British Government in India I said to myself and to them I must go to the United States of America come what may I took great pains to get hold of every possible book from which I could learn something of the history and the government of the United States

Gradually my family became reconciled to my desire to go to America Even so after I graduated from the University of Punjab with a B A degree in mathematics I had to wait for several months in Chhajalwadi for my passport to clear During that time I busied myself with a number of small projects in the village One of them involved the primary school where I had studied as a boy As a primary school it went only up to the fifth grade I urged my uncle to build new larger quarters for the school and with the help of the leaders in the community I prepared letters and petitions to the district education board of Amritsar in an effort to convert it from a primary school of five grades to a middle school of eight grades That application was accepted and granted My uncle donated the building, and before I left India I had the great satisfaction of seeing the sixth grade already started in the school Now it is a well established middle school

I also concerned myself with trees Travel between the villages of India is done mostly on foot or was in my day and for the weary travelers shade trees at the crossroads and other locations provided a welcome haven from the hot sun And from ancient days it has been considered a virtue for people to plant shade trees on the paths of travel in the country

While waiting for my passport I became very much impressed by a middle aged man who used to spend all his time gathering tiny seedlings and planting them along the various roads outside the village This mans only son had left home a few years before and he had never heard from him and in

his loneliness he sought comfort in planting trees I used to see him carrying water on his shoulders several miles in order to nurture his growing seedlings

Since I was young and strong and possessed of the urge to do some good I began to follow his example I was able to plant a number of trees in places some distance from the village Like the old man I used to enjoy carrying water to my seedlings to get them started I learned later that some of those trees were kept growing because my mother nurtured them after I had left for America

Almost all Indian villages in those days suffered from the oppression of the moneylenders Villagers finding themselves in financial difficulties would borrow money from the village moneylender Oftentimes the interest was so high that the loan would continue from generation to generation This was one of the most common and one of the heaviest burdens Indians at that time were forced to bear In order to relieve the situation the government of Punjab had begun to sponsor cooperative banks for the use of the villagers One of my former college friends was in charge of this program in my part of the country I consulted with him and agreed to bring several leading citizens from my village to a meeting at his headquarters in the city of Tarn Taran ten miles away The meeting was most successful and we returned home and I was able to help organize two cooperative banks in my village When I went back to India in 1957 I was delighted to learn that both of those banks were still operating

But while I busied myself with these activities my thoughts were still on America I had made up my mind to leave and my family had finally agreed I told them it was my intention to learn food canning with the hope of starting a canning industry in India with the emphasis on the canning of mangoes So I assured my family that I would study in the United States for at least two and not more than three years and would then return home

II

I COME TO AMERICA

MY passport was in order My elder brother who at that time was the palace engineer in the state of Kashmir had furnished me passage money for the trip to the United States

On a fine August day I sailed from Bombay on the S S *Marcara* bound for Plymouth England

Most of the passengers were English army and government people returning to England on leave from India One of them with whom I became acquainted was an engineer employed at the Tata steelworks When I told him that I had majored in mathematics he began to tease me with mathematical problems For example he told me how high we were above the water and asked me to figure the distance to the horizon My mathematics were still fresh in my mind so I had little difficulty in figuring out the formula and arriving at the correct answer He complimented me and we soon became good friends He was most helpful in his advice and information as to the conditions I would meet both in England and the United States

After we reached Plymouth I immediately went to London where I found I would have to wait several weeks before I

could get passage to the United States Despite my impatience I used the time to see as many of the sights as possible

I noticed how reverently the British people passed by the tombs of Lord Nelson in Saint Paul s Cathedral and the Duke of Wellington in Westminster Abbey those two great builders of the British Empire While I could respect these men for themselves their achievements in building the Empire did not have much appeal for me I was not interested in empire builders Abraham Lincoln s statue however evoked in me quite a different response

I also visited Hyde Park where one could go any time of the day and listen to fiery and partisan speeches on all subjects In those days the favorite topics were socialism com munism Irish freedom and Indian independence Some of the speeches were for some against some of the speakers praised the government others damned it It was most ex citing to me as it was my first experience with the meaning of freedom of speech In India certainly no such thing as open criticism of the British Empire was tolerated

While I was in Great Britain I discovered that the English men who lived in England were an altogether different type from those I had known or heard of in India in respect to their attitudes toward India s right to self government They were very decent and kind to me and many were devoted admirers of Mahatma Gandhi, who sympathized sincerely with India s desire to be free

At long last I was finally able to secure passage to the United States on the S S *Philadelphia* leaving Southampton The only space available was in steerage When I boarded the ship I found the accommodations were a far cry from the first class luxury I had experienced from Bombay to Plymouth We crossed the English Channel during the night and stopped at Cherbourg where the ship took on hundreds of passengers from Europe

The week s trip across the Atlantic was not very pleasant for me principally because the food was so poor All I could bring myself to eat was milk and fruit I was amazed that my fellow passengers were able to eat some of the food that was served until I realized that most of them were people from Europe many of whom had actually experienced hunger and starvation during wartime Even though I had come from a very poor country I had never known what it was like to be hungry

Among the passengers aboard the S S *Philadelphia* was an attractive and charming young blonde lady who was returning to New York to join her husband She was interested in India and we talked together quite often She had an eleven year old daughter with her and we all became very good friends New York was their destination while I was bound for San Francisco Eight years later we were to meet in Los Angeles again under very strange and providential circumstances

When we reached New York Harbor we were delayed by heavy fog for two days Then at last the fog lifted a little and I could see the faint outlines of the Statue of Liberty It was an exhilarating experience I had finally arrived in the United States of America

During the stay at Ellis Island while waiting to be cleared for entry I felt lonesome for the first time since I left India Here I was at Ellis Island I had come to the United States but I was not yet free to go into the country Then while I was standing in a long line to have my passport examined a kindly inspector who obviously knew India took me out of the line and had my papers stamped Finally warmly shaking my hand he said to me You are now a free man in a free country Then he whispered into my ear You do not have to worry about the C I D either (C I D stood for the Criminal Investigation Department in India—the dread and hated secret police)

I looked around and said to myself "Yes at long last you are a free man in a free country You may go where you wish and say what you please" That certainly proved true for as long as I have been in the United States particularly in the early years while I was cruelly discriminated against many a time because of the place of my birth not once has my right to say what I pleased been questioned by any man To me coming as I did from India freedom of speech and liberty to go wherever I wished without having any fears of secret police hounding me were of profound and lasting significance

I set out from New York for San Francisco California where I intended to enroll as a student at the University of California to study food preservation and canning It was a long train trip and I had not as yet become accustomed to American food So all the way across the country I lived on milk and bread

At the Ferry Building in San Francisco the attendant at the Travelers Aid Society booth directed me to a Hindu temple There I was told that I should stay in San Francisco that night and take a ferry the next morning across the bay to Berkeley I was further advised that if I went to Mission Street I would be able to find a hotel room in which to spend the night It was the most uncomfortable night I have ever spent in my life I had heard about bedbugs but this was the first time I had actually encountered a bed infested with them The bed was impossible and my only refuge was the floor but that yielded scant comfort

The next morning I rushed to the Ferry Building and took the ferry to Berkeley the seat of the University of California I went straight to 1731 Allston Way where I found the clubhouse established and maintained by the Sikh Temple in Stockton California The temple had bought this two-story house for the use and benefit of students from India who could live there rent free The only requirement was that

residents of the club be enrolled at a high school or the university It was run by the resident members on a cooperative basis—students paid for their gas and electricity and we took turns at cooking Hindu style meals When my turn came around I always prepared my specialty—chicken curry

For the next two years I was a resident member of the club The resultant saving was a great help to me as it was to other students because in those days no students from India received any government scholarships since the British Government of India was not interested in educating Indians in the United States We had all come over on our own and we were all short of funds

One of the senior members of the club was studying agriculture and he very kindly helped me enter the university as a graduate student a further help since no tuition fees were required of graduate students In the course of my studies I took part in several experiments which were being carried on at the university at that time in the line of food preservation I worked very diligently in the laboratory and had the opportunity to experiment with the canning and dehydration of fruits and vegetables It was at this time that a number of tragic deaths were reported as a result of ptomaine poisoning contracted after eating canned olives It was in the food preservation laboratories of the University of California that a safe formula for canning olives was finally perfected

Contact with Americans was limited to associations made in my university classes my other contacts were almost exclusively with my fellow citizens from India of whom there were some eighty at the university The only times that students of different nationalities ever got together were at meetings of the Cosmopolitan Club sponsored by the YMCA in Berkeley under the leadership of the YMCA secretary Dr Day

The student group from India was very well organized and

we all belonged to the Hindustan Association of America which had chapters throughout the United States in different university centers After I had been at Berkeley two years I was elected national president of the association which gave me many opportunities to make speeches on India and meet with other groups as a representative of the Indian students at the university All of us were ardent Nationalists and we never passed up an opportunity to expound on India s rights to self government I took part in several debates and spoke before many groups and organizations

It was my habit at the time to write my speeches out very carefully in advance Sometimes I would take two or more weeks to write a speech and then memorize it I used the best possible language and tried to follow the style of old English orators who believed in melodious phrases couched in flaw less grammar But I soon found this special preparation could get me into trouble It allowed for no spontaneity and when I had to have a comeback or an answer to a question on con troversial subjects such as Indian independence I was often very slow

On one occasion when I was president of the Hindustan Association of America the annual convention was scheduled to be held at the university I had previously gone to Palo Alto and made arrangements with the president of Stanford Uni versity Dr David Starr Jordan to be our principal speaker A few days before the convention however Dr Jordan had to go East and could not be present We had difficulty in finding a substitute but finally a professor of political science at the university agreed to pinch hit

I delivered a half hour talk on the right of India to inde pendence and the inequities of British rule Then our main speaker rose and proceeded to tear me apart He floored me with questions I couldn t promptly answer How about the primitive agriculture in India?" he asked How about the

caste system? How about the disunity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans?'

He easily got the better of me and I felt very sick and sad that the meeting ended by creating an unfavorable impression for the cause of India

A leadership position among my group was not always an enviable one Once I was chairman of the annual faculty dinner to which students invited instructors as guests I worked for two weeks preparing my speeches and introductions of honored guests and I recall my feelings quite vividly While sitting at the head table next to the dean of the Agricultural College who was to be our principal speaker I worried as I tried to remember the big words and resounding passages in my forthcoming speech of welcome Meanwhile I could see my fellow students having a wonderful time chatting and talking with their girl friends and faculty guests Most of the extra work was my own fault I now know it was not necessary for me to worry and work so hard on my speeches but I was a perfectionist and there was no helping it

Mahatma Gandhi had become a very popular figure in the United States by this time and people were eager to know and hear about him particularly from a native of India Therefore it was not unusual for me to receive as many as seven invitations a week to talk about Gandhi

These talks were not always one sided Sometimes I encountered people in my audiences—particularly in the question and answer period—who knew much more about India than I and there were some very embarrassing occasions particularly when I was asked questions I couldn t properly answer All in all however it was a wonderful experience to be able to go out and meet with people and talk of matters close to my heart I felt at the time that the least I could do for India was to present a true picture of that unhappy land to the people of America In those days the picture of India

which most of the American people carried in their minds had little basis in reality It was a confused jumble of yogis snake charmers and maharajas There were very few good books available about India most of them written by former members of the British Government in India who were on the whole extremely unfriendly toward the history and culture of that ancient land

Once I was invited as a representative of the Indian students to the home of the minister of a large church in Berkeley together with representatives of other foreign student groups Our host was very friendly and kind and asked each of us what in our opinion Americans could do to make our lives more pleasant and make it easier for us to meet and mingle with Americans

All of us were eager to meet the American people and become a part of American life but because of our general lack of funds we were not in a position to go out and live in American homes and pay room and board

When it came my turn to speak, I said "My friend what makes us feel not at home as much as we would like are just such meetings as this and I wish there were no need for such a meeting What we would like is not to be considered foreigners or strangers at all but to be accepted by Americans as friends Then there would be no need for meetings like this You have a beautiful home here If a close relative or friend comes to your house you don t stand up and offer him the best chair in the house He comes in and feels at home he sits where he can It is only to strangers that you stand up and offer the best place We would like to be merely members of the family and not feel we are strangers or foreigners"

But such acceptance was very difficult to obtain in the atmosphere of California in those days particularly for students from Asia Prejudice against Asiatic people in California was very intense in the early twenties and I felt keen discrimina

tion in many ways Outside of the university atmosphere it was made quite evident that people from Asia—Japanese Chinese and Hindus—were not wanted

The state legislature had just passed a piece of discrimina tory legislation known as the Alien Land Act It prohibited Asiatics from owning or leasing farm land and was aimed at preventing them—particularly the Japanese—from acquiring rich and fertile land in the state Japanese and Chinese were becoming a dominant factor in truck farming in California and the law stated that no person who was ineligible for American citizenship would be permitted to lease or own properties for agricultural purposes Since all Asiatics were ineligible for American citizenship they were effectively boycotted

Despite the prejudice and discrimination that I saw there were many other American practices that made a more favor able impression on me I recall one afternoon when I was re turning from the university library to the clubhouse I saw a group of boys and girls gathered together near Berkeley High School Two boys were having a knockdown drag out fight As I stood there and watched I noticed that not one among the spectators tried to help or hinder either of the fighters Eventually one of them acknowledged he d had enough and the battle was over

Then to my amazement the two boys walked arm in arm to the soda fountain nearby and shared a coke from the same bottle

It was my first experience with sportsmanship as practiced in America I vowed to myself that if I was going to acquire any of the characteristics of the American people one of the most important ones would be *to learn to be a good sport* At this time I saw another example of it on the political level During the American national election in 1920 I read the speeches of the two presidential candidates and heard some

of the debates on the issues It was a long and hard fought campaign, but I saw that on the night of the election as soon as it became apparent that Senator Harding had won the election the defeated candidate Governor Cox sent a sincere message of congratulations and offered his services to the next president

After a year of study at the university in the Department of Agriculture my love for mathematics was once again aroused. This was not difficult for my interest had been kept alive by my friends who were taking courses in mathematics and who would often come to me for help Then one morning out of curiosity I visited the Department of Mathematics I talked to the instructors and told them I had majored in mathematics in India at the University of Punjab and graduated with a B A degree with honors in Applied Mathematics

I learned that if I wanted to try for a master s degree in mathematics at Berkeley I could apply the units which I had acquired in the Department of Agriculture toward the twenty which were required for an M A degree I figured out that it would be possible to take some courses in mathematics while continuing my studies in food preservation and within a year s time I could get an M A degree in mathematics

So I joined the Department of Mathematics and qualified for an M A For my master s thesis I was advised by Professor McDonald to continue work that had been started by a professor at Cambridge on a differential equation which had no general solution but did have particular solutions

I worked on the problem diligently and when Professor McDonald accepted my thesis he told me that if I wanted to continue for a Ph D degree he would be happy to accept my work as thesis for that high degree This was naturally quite an inducement and with this generous encouragement I there-

fore decided to continue my mathematical studies I expanded my work on the same thesis On Functions Associated with the Elliptic Cylinder in Harmonic Analysis" and after about a year and a half of further study I received my Ph D

The greatest difficulty I encountered was in languages I had to have a reading and writing knowledge of two foreign languages I chose French and German and learned to read books on mathematics in both tongues

My two instructors in agriculture Professors William Cruess and Richard Christy were very helpful to me in my work and I became deeply attached to them personally Among the many favors they bestowed upon me and other students was to help secure jobs during the summer vacations in various canning factories in California

One year I worked in an asparagus canning factory of Libby McNeill & Libby near Sacramento Another time I was employed at the same company s factory in Sunnyvale a very large plant where cherries peaches and other fruits in season were canned I also worked at the factories of the California Packing Corporation particularly Plant No 7 in Emeryville near Oakland

During the several months I worked at the Emeryville plant I became very friendly with the superintendent Mr Henry Bernier He was a very progressive manager who believed in giving opportunities to college students and inducing them to join his organization I had been in charge of the syrup department for several months when the assistant superintendent of the plant was transferred

One evening Mr Bernier invited me to his home for supper I enjoyed meeting his lovely wife and two small children, and during the evening s conversation Mr Bernier asked me what I intended to do after I graduated from the university At that time I was still working for my Ph D degree in mathematics Since my mind was far from made up as to the future I re-

plied very vaguely to the effect that some time in the future I wanted to write a history of India and perhaps the further opportunity to obtain a fellowship or instructor s position in mathematics in some American college or university Almost as an afterthought I said I was also interested in learning more about the canning industry

Two days later Mr Bernier told me that during that evening at his home I had talked myself out of a good job He had decided to offer me the position of assistant superintendent of the factory a welcome and flattering offer to a twenty three year old student The company he said was looking for college graduates who had studied in the field of agriculture because they were expanding and needed more college trained people in managerial positions When I had been vague about my future plans he had decided that it was not the job for me since they had no interest in training young men who were not certain that they wanted to make canning a career It was the first time in my life that I talked myself out of a good job but certainly not the last

I received my Ph D degree in mathematics in May 1924 By that time I had decided that I was going to make America my home although I had received offers of professorships from two colleges in India I had made up my mind definitely that I was not going back to India but the difficulties in my way were very formidable

During my college years at Berkeley I had maintained my keen interest in American history and government by studying the lives of the great leaders of the nation Washington Jefferson, Jackson Lincoln Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson I had come to the United States as a great admirer of its institutions and its leaders America exemplified for me the highest form of democracy Its people had developed a system based upon the Declaration of Independence and the belief that all men are created equal Human dignity

was recognized and (with some notable exceptions) the principles of democracy were practiced

From my contacts at the university my fondness and affection for American institutions had extended to the American people as well I came to love their open friendliness enthusiasm and spontaneity Even though life for me did not seem very easy it had become impossible to think of a life separated from the United States I was aware of the considerable prejudice against the people of Asia in California and knew that few opportunities existed for me or people of my nationality in the state at that time I was not a citizen and could not become one The only way Indians in California could make a living at that time was to join with others who had settled in various parts of the state as farmers

I had met a few Indians from Imperial Valley who had done very well, and so in the summer of 1925 I decided to go to the southern California desert valley and make my living as a farmer

III

EARLY DAYS IN IMPERIAL VALLEY

My first job in Imperial Valley was that of foreman of a cotton picking gang at a ranch belonging to some Indian friends My job was to stay near the wagon to which the pickers who picked the cotton by hand brought their sacks to be weighed There were more than a hundred pickers and it was up to me to weigh each sack as it was brought in Each man had a number and I had to keep a record of the number and each weight in my master book as well as to give each man a receipt for each individual sack he brought in At the end of the week I had to calculate the total weights for all the pickers and make up the pay roll

I took advantage of the spare time I had on my hands All day while waiting for the pickers to come in I read books on literature poetry drama early American history etc Back at camp late at night and again early in the morning I continued my studies by the dim light of a kerosene lamp My bosses never having had a chance to go to school themselves gladly afforded me every opportunity to continue my studies

Mrs Bigelow who was then head librarian of the El Centro library was my particular friend at that time and I owe her a

great debt of gratitude El Centro was the county seat of Imperial County Whenever my boss went to El Centro which was at least once a week I managed to get a ride with him and spent my time getting new books from the public library When some of the books I needed were not available Mrs Bigelow would order them from the state library in Sacramento She must have gotten scores of special books for me during the period I was working as a cotton foreman

My pay was based on the amount of cotton picked at the rate of ten cents a hundred pounds and sometimes I made as much as eighteen to twenty dollars a day This was a great deal of money then and to me it seemed a fortune By the end of the season I had managed to save quite a sum I borrowed a little more from my friends and ventured into the growing of lettuce in a partnership with another man in an eighty acre field

Two years previously lettuce growers had hit the jackpot and had made good money but unfortunately the year I tried it was one of the worst in the history of lettuce growing in Imperial County The crop was excellent the weather was warm the size of lettuce was big but the demand was almost nil Together with scores of other farmers I had to sit and watch entire fields of lettuce go to ruin without being able to ship any of it I had had great hopes and naturally this was a tremendous blow The entire crop was a complete total loss and I had acquired a debt that took me some time to repay Three years later in 1930 I grew lettuce again This time I was more fortunate and was able to clear up the rest of my debts

During the hot summer months when work was practically at a standstill I used to go to Los Angeles Here I again spent most of my time in the library reading and studying and

eventually in research and finally in writing my book *My Mother India*

Mother India by Katherine Mayo had just been published It was a sensational book and soon became a best seller The author had been in India only a very short time and she de scribed an India that no native of that land could possibly recognize The Indians in California particularly resented the book s unjust and false interpretations of Indian culture Gandhi called it a drain inspector s report" and it was just that We thought that a rebuttal was certainly due and I was delegated by the Sikh Temple in Stockton to write one

When in Los Angeles my headquarters were near the pub lic library Although most of my time was spent in writing I continued my interest in Mahatma Gandhi and in India s ef forts toward independence I took advantage of every op portunity to speak debate and present India s side

One evening I spoke at the Unitarian Church in Hollywood, and at the end of the meeting a young man came up to me introduced himself as Emil J Kosa said he was an artist and invited me to visit his home sometime He said his mother and father were students of world politics and greatly in terested in India It was a casual invitation and I did not take it particularly seriously Then a few weeks later I happened to meet Emil in a downtown restaurant We recognized each other and he renewed his invitation and this time I accepted I was introduced to his parents and during the course of con versation Mrs Kosa told me that when she was returning from Europe a few years before with her daughter she had met a young Indian student who was going to study fruit canning in the United States I had no knowledge of any other Indian student besides myself who had been even re motely interested in this field We compared notes and soon found that we had been passengers on the same boat the

S S *Philadelphia* in 1920 Mrs Kosa had been my shipboard friend but her then eleven year old daughter Marian was now a beautiful and talented student of U C L A

I soon became a frequent visitor at the Kosa home and a friend of the whole family Kosa Sr was an artist as well as a philosopher He always enjoyed having friends drop in to discuss art politics philosophy and the problems of the world He was very much impressed by my seeming knowledge of literature and world affairs One day Emil mentioned that I would make an interesting subject for a portrait and asked me to pose for him To give the portrait more atmosphere he asked me to wear a turban I was glad to oblige even though I had given up wearing a turban shortly after I came to the United States

It took several sittings to finish the portrait By the time it was finished I was practically one of the family The following year when Emil left for Europe to continue his studies at L Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris I was still a constant visitor at the Kosa home whenever I was in town

One evening I was invited to speak before the Masaryk Club of which Mr and Mrs Kosa were members Emil s sister Marian was at that time a leader of a small dance group of U C L A coeds known as the Kosa group They used to perform folk dances before various civic diplomatic and college groups As the girls danced that night at the Masaryk Club my eyes never left Marian Suddenly I knew I was madly in love I found myself in a terrible dilemma Providence had brought me to the home of this spritely winning blonde and I knew I was desperately in love But here I was twenty-eight years old without a home without a secure job and no clear future in sight—a foreigner in a country that I loved and in which I had made my home but where the laws even forbade me to become a citizen I had fallen in love with the daughter

of a well known artist a very beautiful and talented college girl at U C L.A Also I knew that I had many rivals and that I could not possibly match their physical or material attributes But once again luck was on my side All through life I had been faced with many turning points and I had always been lucky In this particular case my salvation lay in the fact that my future father in law and mother in law liked me I carried on my courtship with persistence and unsurpassed devotion These were all I could offer at that time I had plenty of nerve and plenty of love

Our courtship was not very long I think the most persuasive weapon I had was the fact that I knew many passages of English Hindu and Persian poetry I used to recite them to Marian and she would laugh and find great delight in them She was remarkable in memorizing and can recite many of those poems to this day I recall one passage from an Indian poem that struck her fancy I tremble at the tyranny of the shining sun I am like a dewdrop on a desert thorn"

I proposed to Marian by writing this sentence word by word in the sand at Laguna Beach one Sunday afternoon "If I prove myself worthy will you become mine?

This was one time when I obtained an invaluable prize on the American installment plan of a promise to pay" I have been working to fulfill my promise ever since but the obligation will never be completely fulfilled

Our marriage in 1928 was the big turning point in my life It was then and remains so to this day

My father in law and mother in law were not wealthy but they were able to give us a sound start in life They built us a house immediately below their home on a hillside property they owned on Sunset Boulevard It was a beautiful home It gave us great pleasure and joy and became the center of many many happy times with our friends and loved ones

The year after our marriage my mother in law died It was a tragic shocking loss to both of us and the worst I had received since the death of my elder brother in 1923 Next to my own mother she was perhaps the most affectionate individual I had known in life and I had become deeply devoted to her

My wife continued to attend college until the birth of our son in February 1930 while I divided my time between my work in Imperial Valley and my other work in Los Angeles Then when the baby was old enough to travel Marian brought him to Imperial Valley and we made our home on a ranch near Westmorland California This was a big change in the life of this young city bred girl who had to leave her beautiful home her family and friends to go into an altogether different life But my wife had courage and proved herself capable of undertaking new and unfamiliar responsibilities Life on the ranch was not easy in those days We did not lack for any necessities but luxuries were not too plentiful The old ranch house had no running water at that time or electricity and was extremely run down But with the help of a little paint and a few knickknacks we managed to make our life there as easy and comfortable as was possible under the circumstances

I was worried that my wife would not be happy in Imperial Valley because I wasn t sure at that time what kind of companionship she would find there I need not have worried During the first year she was too busy to go out much but it was not long before she made a wide circle of friends among the women in the area

In spite or perhaps because of the comparative isolation of the Valley there was a great deal of activity in this winter garden of California There always has been My wife joined one of the two book clubs that were organized in the small town of Westmorland Later on she became a member of

another book club in Brawley She joined the Women s Community Club of Brawley and the ladies of the Home Department of the Farm Bureau of which Marian became treasurer and later secretary held many a meeting in our home Marian still claims that she learned all she knows about maintaining a home remodeling clothes upholstering chairs choosing the best grades of food and planning functional kitchens from Miss Glenn the advisor of the Farm Bureau s Home Department

When our son started going to school in Brawley Marian joined the PTA there The year she was elected president, Imperial Valley suffered a tragic earthquake Most of the school buildings had been destroyed or declared unsafe and classes had to be held in temporary buildings In order to assist the school the PTA decided to build a temporary school cafeteria for the children I remember how energetic and enthusiastic the PTA members were They went out in teams and returned with donations of lumber and other materials for the cafeteria building and they persuaded the carpenters to donate their labor The women provided picnic lunches for the workmen and in no time they had the cafeteria built With the help of a hired cook and government surplus food they managed to provide hot lunches many of them free to the school children until a large new cafeteria was built by the school board

Every Saturday night the country people thronged into Brawley This was BTV (before television) and everyone did their weekly shopping on that night The PTA wanted to provide some decent recreation for the youngsters who came to town with their parents The earthquake had demolished a huge building back of the Dunlack Hotel and all that remained was a large cement floor The PTA with the permission of the owners converted this area into a roller skating

rink Music was provided lights were installed and the parents helped to sell ice cream and pop The skating rink soon became a busy place between seven and nine thirty every Saturday night

I suffered real personal hardship when in October 1942 Marian had to leave Imperial Valley because of her health She had been suffering from hay fever since we moved to Westmorland in 1930 She had a series of tests taken and found that she was extremely allergic to Bermuda pollen Like a good patient she tried every way possible to find a cure even giving herself under doctors advice injections against the pollen But the immunity created by the injections of pollen lost its effect as time went by and gradually she de veloped asthma This became so bad that she often had to sit up nights to breathe So upon the advice of her doctor she was forced to move to Los Angeles She worked at Sears for a year to help with the increased expense of keeping up two homes and then spent a year at U C L A to get her B A and her teaching credentials and from 1945 until 1958 she taught in the Los Angeles city public school system

Westmorland is situated on the edge of the desert The sandy soil around it coupled with the hot desert winds makes it an ideal area for the early growing of watermelons honey dews and cantaloupes Thus the cultivation of melons for early shipments became a specialty in the Valley and the economy of the community had been built on the ability of its farmers to produce these specialty crops earlier than any other locality in the United States These melons were packed and shipped under refrigeration all over the country

Melon seeds are planted during the months of November and December Each individual hill of seeds is covered with a cap of transparent wax paper which lets the sun in to heat

the ground but keeps out the frost and cold winds These caps are supported by an arch made of wire bent in a semicircle and the edges of the paper are buried in the soil The seeds germinate under the protection of these caps During January while danger from frost still exists the papers are removed plants are thinned weeds hoed out and the tender plants again covered This work all done by hand in addition to the irrigation costs makes it a very expensive crop to grow

Initial high costs of production packing icing and shipping in refrigerated cars to far off markets made these products expensive luxury items for the consumer While a cantaloupe cost a dime during the regular season the early crop cantaloupe had to sell for twenty five cents in order to render a reasonable profit When the economy in most parts of the United States became depressed these products like all luxury items were hit first and hit hard

In order to build up the soil the melon crop was alternated with alfalfa every three years The market for baled alfalfa hay was found in the metropolitan area of Los Angeles When dairies around that area got into financial straits this depressed the alfalfa hay market until it was barely possible to realize harvesting baling and shipping expenses I recall the time when my neighbors and I could barely meet our pay rolls by selling baled hay at very low prices I owned a hay baler at that time that required four men to operate The baler was pulled in the field by horses and two men walked along the side of the horses and pitched hay on the hopper platform Another man on top of the baler fed hay into the hopper and the man in the rear managed the tensions and tied the wires It was hard work for all four men Hay had to be baled with the dew on it in the early morning hours The wages were twenty five cents per ton per man ten to twelve tons of baling was considered a good days work

One season twelve of my neighbors all big husky and experienced workers wanted jobs on my baler Yet there were only four men needed This situation was common throughout the Valley There were hundreds of eager and able bodied men willing to work who could not find jobs anywhere

One of the men who worked for me on my baler one season was an engineer from Yuma Arizona who was then out of a job and willing to do any work Later when things picked up he moved to Los Angeles and founded what became a successful and highly profitable exterminating business with branches in the bay area of San Francisco and the metropolitan area of Los Angeles

The local blacksmith had accepted the position of chairman of the Red Cross drive in Westmorland After two weeks of hard work he managed to collect a total of thirty five dollars and at that time there were more than a hundred families in the vicinity of Westmorland out of work and in need of relief First quality cantaloupes and watermelons as well as other produce were rotting in the fields because there was no market for them and harvesting costs would have been higher than what they could be sold for There were starvation and need in the face of plenty

This period saw the beginning of the great influx of migration to California from the poverty stricken Dust Bowl states of Oklahoma Arkansas and parts of Texas Whole families were heading toward California by way of Yuma Arizona The county of Los Angeles made arrangements with the sheriff of Imperial County to deputize some of their men who delegated unto themselves the authority of blocking the entry of these unfortunate people into California They promulgated their own rules and regulations and would not permit anyone to cross the state boundary unless they had a certain minimum amount of money This was an impossible test for

those people to meet Most of them penniless had gathered up all of their belongings packed them on top of their automobiles loaded their cars with their families and were coming into California with the hope of finding jobs in this promised land I was appalled at the situation for it was inconceivable to me that an American would not be permitted to go wherever he pleased within the continental limits of the country

Ever since my arrival in the United States in 1920 I had maintained a keen interest in the political situation I had studied the personalities and programs of the presidential candidates both during the 1924 and the 1928 campaigns By 1932 I had positively and definitely become a Democrat by outlook and conviction

Franklin D Roosevelt was my choice for president in 1932 and it was a great comfort and joy to me when he was elected with a landslide vote I had seen candidate Roosevelt in the Hollywood Bowl during the summer months of that year and I still recall his great speech at that time when he said "I am as radical as the Declaration of Independence I am as liberal as the Bill of Rights And the stirring words from his inaugural address delivered in a confident tone We have nothing to fear but fear itself" had thrilled me deeply America had found a leader who would guide her through the wilderness of the depression

The overwhelming victory of Franklin D Roosevelt in the 1932 election and the subsequent popularity of his aggressive program in fighting the depression had the effect of bringing out in the open hundreds of good honest Democrats and revitalizing the Democratic party in Imperial Valley

Even though I was not a citizen and did not have the right

to vote I was always present at official meetings of the County Democratic Central Committee and other public occasions and I never missed the opportunity to defend the different programs of the Roosevelt administration

It was not popular among the ruling circles in Imperial County at that time for anyone to praise the work of the Roosevelt administration Yet almost everybody was receiving benefits of the Federal Aid program in one form or another The WPA had begun its operations and more than a hundred families from Westmorland alone were on its payroll Two able men in charge of the WPA program were leading citizens of Westmorland who had been hard hit financially in recent years

I could see what the PWA the WPA and CCC programs were doing for my community of Westmorland and there are still visible monuments to the WPA work which gave jobs and grocery money to hundreds of people in that hard struck area These include the adobe city hall which still stands the tennis courts on the school grounds the swimming pool on the city hall grounds to say nothing of long stretches of sidewalks in the city

Hundreds of business and professional men and women from all over the country had invested their savings in the original purchase and the subsequent leveling and development of Imperial Valley land When the depression began to show its face over the length and breadth of the United States these investments began to slacken As the returns from their properties became slimmer and slimmer many of these absentee landowners stopped paying taxes on their properties in Imperial Valley This naturally was a severe blow to the finances of the local governments of the area

Imperial County s collections became so dangerously low that there was a period when warrants of the county were

those people to m[illegible] the banks The Imperial Irrigation District up all of their [illegible] d fault on the principal and interest on its automobiles [illegible] were held by investors from many parts of the coming into [illegible] as also forced to default on its principal and promised [illegible] nents to the United States Treasury The Im inconcei[illegible] tion District was granted deferment on these to go w[illegible] out it must be said to the credit of the people count[illegible] al County that when their fortunes changed they [illegible] United States Treasury not only all the deferred pay but interest as well

[illegible]e federal government s farm aid program had a tremen[illegible]us impact on the recovery of the Valley s economy Hun[illegible]reds of landowners who were in danger of foreclosures on their properties obtained relief in the form of long term loans with lower interest rates from the Farm Security Adminis tration The programs of the Department of Agriculture giving bonus payments to the growers of sugar beets out of the revenues from duties on imported sugar under the provisions of the Sugar Act brought in hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly Also the soil conservation program under which pay ment were made to growers of soil building crops such as al falfa and for the use of fertilizers was a main contributing fac tor in the budgets of many local farmers of that hard stricken area I recall how for several years the soil conservation pay ments and the payments under the Sugar Act of about three dollars per ton on sugar beets was the only profit that I made in my farming operations The same held true for many of my neighbors

The farmers were helped in still another way by the cheap money they got from different government agencies It allowed them to realize their long cherished wishes to form cooperatives

But farmers in Imperial Valley had to fight not only eco-

nomic depression but often the cruel and capricious forces of nature as well Most of Imperial County lies from fifty to two hundred fifty feet below sea level and there was ever present a danger from flooding by the unpredictable silt laden Colorado River This flood danger abated with the beginning of construction of the Hoover Dam but there still remained the constant fear of drought a fear that became a reality in 1935 The river had gone completely dry there was no water running in the canals whatsoever and the crops were drying out And since there was no underground water in the Valley no drinking water was available for the cities or ranches In order to avert an epidemic from unclean water the Government made arrangements to bring in railroad tank cars full of pure water and stationed them at different depots throughout the Valley and residents were rationed to five gallons at a time

The naturally formed lakes of the Valley were sufficient to satisfy the needs of the cattle and other stock but nevertheless those remained dangerous and anxious days I saw my fellow farmers crops dry up and perish but the spirit of the people of the pioneer communities was always high and we weathered that drought without any epidemic or serious damage to the livestock The crop damage however was enormous

One year while the price of alfalfa hay was already very low we suffered a grasshopper infestation This greatly reduced the yield of the crop and made things much harder than they would have been otherwise

We devised an ingenious method to fight the grasshoppers It consisted of dragging a large contraption through the infested fields This consisted of a platform twenty five feet wide and eight feet high covered with shiny tin and supported on a sled As the rig was dragged through the field the grass-

hoppers jumped and hit against the shiny surface falling into a tub at the base of the platform that was filled with kerosene and water At the end of a day an operator would have killed bushels of grasshoppers

Another method used was to spread moist bran and molasses mixed with Paris green on the borders before irrigating the field As the water covered the alfalfa the hoppers would jump to the borders and feed on the poisoned bran

The farmers living in the Salton Sea (Westmorland Niland area) had to fight constantly against the depredations by widgeon ducks During the winter months the widgeons would fly into green alfalfa and lettuce fields and do tremendous damage Since the widgeon ducks came from the federal government s game preserve established on the shores of the Salton Sea and because the shooting regulations were rigidly enforced it was very difficult for the farmers to combat this menace I remember one year when the onslaughts from these ducks were especially great I used to stay up all night, shooting under the ducks with a shotgun trying to prevent them from landing and to scare them out of the fields Coming in by the thousands they could clean out an eighty acre field of alfalfa almost overnight That year I had several hundred acres of alfalfa and the ducks harvested a sizable portion of it

Then when we grew milo maize we had the blackbirds to contend with They descended in swarms like huge black clouds from their habitations in the New River bottom land The only way to escape them when the corn was ripe was to scare them by shooting hollow tip shells from a 22 rifle over their heads This made a sharp ringing sound and was fairly effective Marian used to stand for hours at the edge of the field with a rifle and a pocket full of tiny shells to keep the birds off the field In recognition of her efforts our young

son gave her the nickname of Maize" by which name she is now known to her grandchildren

During the worst years of the depression I had been quite fortunate There were several periods of anxiety but I came out of it without any serious damage It entailed a tremendous amount of hard physical work which took some time getting used to since I d spent most of my life as a student And I had some fortunate breaks At that time I was leasing several hun dred acres of land on which I was growing alfalfa I ven though the prices were low and it was not a very good bank crop it was the least dangerous and the least speculative crop to grow Being situated at the edge of the Imperial Valley and closest to the market in Los Angeles it was easier for me to sell my hay because it saved truck drivers several miles in getting their loads I developed some good regular customers and managed to weather those difficult days

I have mentioned the prejudice and discrimination that existed against all Asiatics including the Indians at that particular time in California Imperial Valley was not im mune and there is no denying the fact that there were persons in Imperial County who were prejudiced and antagonistic toward me But the majority of my neighbors and the people with whom I came in contact were extremely kind and always helpful I recollect some of the experiences that I had when I first started My neighbors knowing how inexperienced I was would come over and give me advice and offer on occa sions to do the work for me largely out of friendship and high respect for my wife

One very close and dear friend the best neighbor that any one could ever pray for or ever wish to have was Mr Ben Martin We know him now affectionately as Uncle Ben The very first time I met him he said Saund you may consider

my tools as your own Any time you need anything come and get it And if you don t have time or if you don t have the tractor or horses I ll come over and do the work for you free He was as good as his word and often used to loan me his rakes and mowers and other equipment whenever I needed them

I remember a time when I was planting milo maize a very ticklish crop to plant The ground must be at just the right degree of moisture If you don t have the tools and equipment to do the job in a hurry you might be too late and seed will never germinate Uncle Ben brought his entire outfit and planted my crop Just like that

Others were also generous with their help My first year in Westmorland I had two hundred acres of alfalfa and I had made a deal with a neighbor to come and bale my hay Later I found out that he had contracted for too much land and wouldn t have time to get to my hay The first eighty acres got too dry and in Imperial Valley if you let the hay get too dry you have to wait for weeks sometimes until a heavy dew before it can be baled Here I was stuck with a crop and no adequate arrangements to have it baled I thought my salva tion lay in buying my own hay baler though at this time I didn t have any money for a down payment I went to an utter stranger a man by the name of Thomas Logan the dealer for International Harvester the McCormick Deering line I told him I wanted a baler and he said he had balers in stock and could deliver any day A horse pulled baler at that time cost about eleven hundred dollars He told me he would take $350 down and that I could pay the rest of it later I said "Mr Logan I d like very much to have a baler I have two hundred acres of good alfalfa but I have no money to make a down payment If you let me have the baler I'll pay

you $1 00 a ton for every ton I bale By the end of the year it should be paid for

He looked at me and said "Young man, have you ever heard of anyone getting a piece of machinery in these hard times without making a down payment?

I ve told you the truth " I said I ve got two hundred acres of growing alfalfa There s no mortgage on it I ve got the horses and mules to pull the baler but I don t have a down payment "

Then knowing I was Indian he asked me about some of his other Indian customers particularly one who was a com paratively rich farmer Oh yes " I said I know him very well He s a very good friend of mine We are members of the Indian Association He ll do anything for me

Logan said I like you You come over again tomorrow I'll see what I can do "

The next day when I returned he said "Well I ve decided to give you the hay baler and this is the way we'll handle it You give me a note for the down payment payable to me and then if you come back at two o clock we'll have the repre sentative of the International Harvester Company here to draw up the contract for the balance

I was delighted and I signed the note and the contract and the baler was delivered to my place that afternoon That baler was what really put me in business and made it possible for me to make a living despite the low prices

The next time I went to see Mr Logan to get some parts he called me into the office and said Say Saund, I want to tell you something You told me that rich Singh was your good friend Let me tell you he s no friend of yours "

He then told me he had asked the man about me and about his desire to sell me the baler without a down payment He

said "Your so called friend told me Mr Logan dont make that mistake Saund s a nice fellow well educated and all that but he doesn t know how to grow hay You'll never get your money back

But he said that didn t alter his judgment of me for he spoke to another Indian customer of his asked him about me and this fellow said Well Mr Logan I haven t got any money now I ve had two crop failures but let me tell you if Saund needs that hay baler you sell it to him You'll get your money back and if he can t pay for it I will even if I have to go out and pick corn to get the money to do it

As Mr Logan said "This man who is not rich in money is your friend but I d stay away from that other fellow"

The so-called rich" friend of mine lived for another twenty years I remained on good terms with him and I even had the opportunity to do him some favors but I never let him know what had happened in regard to that hay baler

I can thank the village postmaster for another piece of luck that came my way One day a gentleman came over to me and introduced himself saying that he was the owner of a certain piece of property which I knew to be good ground It had just come back to him after a three year lease to a vege table firm He had plowed the ground and was going to farm it himself but decided instead not to move from his home in Ontario He came to Westmorland to lease the land and had mentioned this casually to his old friend the post master The postmaster suggested that he go to see me I leased the land for four years and it turned out to be one of the finest pieces of land I had ever had the good fortune to farm

Another friend of mine a property owner in Imperial County who lived in Los Angeles was helping me by holding my lease contracts in his name since at that time I could not

lease property in my own name I had leased some property in my wife s name since she was an American citizen However some landowners didn t like to take a chance on leasing land even to an Asiatic s wife for fear of violating the Alien Land Act

One season after making arrangements for a contract with the Holly Sugar Company to raise sugar beets I asked this friend to sign the contract He said Doc why don t you plant the beets on my ranch? I couldn t have been more startled or pleased for I knew his ranch to be one of the finest softest loamiest pieces of ground in the Valley

Thus I was lucky through those years of deep depression and low prices But my luck changed for the worse one year when everyone thought that the dark clouds were beginning to lift There was a sudden increase in the price of alfalfa owing to a drought in the Los Angeles area There was a shortage of the crop in the Valley and I had the opportunity to sell more than a thousand tons of hay from about four hun dred acres at $4 00 a ton more than I had expected At the end of the season for the first time I was a few thousand dol lars ahead Then my mind began to fly in all directions I would quit farming this hard ground on a share rent basis I told myself Share rent meant I paid one fourth of the baled hay to the owner of the land Under those circumstances there was not much danger of going broke since no cash out lay was involved and the landowner made his rent in propor tion to what I grossed out of the hay I was now willing to rent on a cash rent basis which the old timers in the Valley considered an unsafe and dangerous procedure

I recall clearly my neighbor Mr Paxton saying to me I know if you lease land for alfalfa on the terms you ve been promising these real estate agents you re going to go broke in no time But that'll be no consolation to me or my neigh

bors because you'll have already spoiled a chance for us to make a little money out of this land if we could lease it on a reasonable basis" But I had become really anxious and I made two bad leases on two separate pieces of land

During the year the price of hay dropped to another low I lost those two ranches and all the money I had put into them I ended up by being in debt to the tune of nearly eight thousand dollars

It was the first time I had been in a position where I could not pay my bills on time or meet my obligations I was deeply disturbed and for a while I thought the world would come to in end if people ever found out I had lost my ranches and was in debt on all sides I owed money for seed fertilizers gas hardware on top of what I owed the landowners

Then began my days of real hardship in Imperial County

I had calls from the fieldmen of my creditors and each one of them thought that it was impossible for me to make enough money out of farming to pay debts Most of them filed suits against me and got judgments

I was not the only one among my neighbors who found himself in difficult financial straits several others had made mistakes or had just hit bad fortune But I made my position more difficult because of my stubbornness My close friends and even the representatives of my creditors advised me to file for bankruptcy as a few others in the county had done

They argued that if I wanted to pay my bills I could always do so after I got back on my feet But the only course open to me in order to get going again in farming was to clear myself of debt and start afresh

I refused declaring bankruptcy was to me a matter of great shame I knew that in India if a man took out bankruptcy he was supposed to according to social custom burn a coal oil lamp in his window during the daytime This was

considered to be a blot on him and his family for it meant he was repudiating his obligations No I said I m not going to declare bankruptcy I am going to go out and work whatever the hardships may be and fight it through"

This I did and it made life very tough for me for several years Particularly it kept me from taking advantage of opportunities which my neighbors who had cleared up their debts were enjoying I had great difficulty getting credit and whenever I made a little money I had to pay my creditors Slowly but surely I was getting ahead and finally after several years I paid all my obligations I remember very distinctly that I owed one of the oil companies a small amount of money on a credit card bill When I finally made some money I went to this company s office and the man there could not find any account in his books which showed I owed any money I told him I knew that I owed them Finally he wrote to the Los Angeles office and about two weeks later he got the correct amount back and I paid the bill

When I look back on my life that decision to follow the dictates of my own heart was one of the best decisions I ve ever made

IV

THE FIGHT FOR CITIZENSHIP

I HAD to give a great deal of time and effort to my job of farming in order to make ends meet Yet I was always able to find time to pursue my studies as well as indulge in my hobby of public speaking For the latter of course I had to wait to be invited But since there were not many Ph D s in Imperial County and I had the reputation of being an educated man in a community becoming more and more intellectually minded I got to speak on an average of once a week for some civic organization service club or ladies group Hard pressed program chairmen of various groups came to know that Saund was always available and ready to accept a speaking invitation whether as first choice or as a pinch hitter I was in the enviable position of having a satisfying hobby and the opportunity to indulge in it frequently My farm work kept me busy enough but being my own boss I could always manage to find the time for these speaking assignments I remember one winter in the late thirties when I spoke before nearly twenty five evening church meetings of the Methodist Church in the Pasadena and Ontario area

By the same token I never missed a chance to catch up on

my reading Wherever I went on my farm work there was frequently time between chores and I made it a point to carry a book or a magazine to occupy those spare moments

The outwardly austere life on the farm in Westmorland nevertheless provided frequent opportunities for stimulating intellectual companionship Our town druggist a man of wide knowledge and experience was always ready to debate and discuss political and philosophical subjects I remember once in the company of the druggist and several other neighbors expressing my disapproval of the waste and pomp of the ceremonies attendant on the marriage of England s Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip Whereupon the druggist with a twinkle in his eye asked me Doc as an educated man conversant with the history and the political institutions of Great Britain let me ask you if there was a vote taken in Great Britain today on the question of the monarchy do you believe the English people would vote in favor of it?

I told him definitely so

Then what business have you to complain as to what they do in regard to their king and his family? He had me there

There was also the Current Events Club a group of some fifteen men from Brawley and Westmorland who used to meet alternately in each member s home every two weeks to discuss current topics The leader would introduce the topic and this was followed by free discussion debate and a lively interchange of opinions A retired Chicago University professor was the spark plug of the group and the meetings proved a very stimulating experience for all of us

It was about this time that I became a member of the Wintergarden Toastmasters Club of Brawley I was fascinated with the work of that particular group and charmed by the wonderful companionship which it afforded and I became a loyal and devoted member of the Toastmasters I served as president of the Brawley Club as lieutenant gover

nor of the area and later as district governor of District No 5 composed of twenty seven clubs in San Diego and Imperial counties During my nearly ten years of active membership in Toastmasters International I had the opportunity to make many close and lasting friendships in Imperial Valley

At our weekly meetings on Thursday nights some thirty members of the Toastmasters Club would gather We began our meetings with a prayer followed by the pledge of allegiance to the flag Then after dinner each member would talk for two minutes impromptu on a predetermined subject Later four members in their turn gave six minute speeches These extemporaneous speeches were minutely criticized and evaluated by appointed critics from among the group This gave us all an excellent chance to learn how to speak extemporaneously on our feet There is no doubt that for me my membership in the Toastmasters Club comprised a unique preparation for my later work in political life I would not permit anything to interfere with the regular Toastmasters meetings on Thursday nights and I always managed to plan my farm work around them This was not difficult for these meetings were strictly regulated in regard to time and never allowed to continue any later than nine o clock During those times when I was irrigating for example I would take my dress suit in my car to the field with me At six o clock I would change into my suit set my water for three hours go to the meeting come back to the field change back into my work clothes and go on with my irrigating

As district governor I paid official visits to the different clubs in San Diego and Imperial counties and was called upon to officiate at the opening of new clubs and present them their charters I greatly enjoyed these chores and they marked perhaps the beginning of my interest in seeking positions of public responsibility

The first rule in public speaking is "know your subject"

and its truth was clearly brought home to me during the annual speech contest of District No 5 in 1945 between the Clubs of Yuma El Centro and Brawley I was representing my own Brawley club and in that particular contest the judges awarded me third place I had chosen to speak on a subject altogether new to me I had prepared my speech very carefully and thoroughly but when I heard the judges decision I was disappointed but not really surprised From the lack of audience response I knew that my speech did not click According to the rules of the contest all three of us were to participate in the district contest to be held in San Diego a month later

As I was leaving the hall a member from El Centro pulled me aside and said When you go to San Diego why don t you just talk on Gandhi and give a shorter version of the speech you made just two weeks ago in El Centro?"

I took his advice and in San Diego speaking on Gandhi I won the district contest hands down The judges unanimously voted me the best speaker I learned then and there that to make a good speech it is not only language and delivery that count but it is equally important that the speaker know his subject and believe in what he is saying In Brawley I could not hide my tension from my audience and my speech lacked spontaneity But in San Diego I had assurance and confidence the flow was natural the feeling was honest and sincere and the response from the audience was inevitable and I won

This period of my life in Imperial County was full of strife and struggle but it was not without its compensations We enjoyed all the advantages of a lively intellectual atmosphere around us and I had besides the good fortune to have a wife who stuck by me and was willing to share alike the joys and sorrows of the hard life on a farm in Imperial Valley This was the time when our children were growing up My wife

and I belonged to the tennis club in Westmorland The members had refurbished the old tennis court at the school grounds and collectively installed lights for evening play Both children and grownups enjoyed the facilities of the club and our regular tennis tournaments drew large and enthusiastic crowds Another activity our family shared together was our month long summer vacations in Yosemite Valley There we took long hikes together to such spots as the Half Dome Merced Lake and Nevada Falls

I had become a close part of the American life I had married an American girl and was the father of three American children I was making America my home Thus it was only natural that I felt very uncomfortable not being able to become a citizen of the United States My social life may have been full and rewarding but the political desire in me was sorely frustrated And I wanted to be a part of all American life both social and political I was every bit as aware of the political happenings on the American scene as anyone around me and was acquainted with the history of America and the lives of its great men I was dedicated to what is called the American way of life and yet when I looked in front of me I saw that the bars of citizenship were shut tight against me I knew if these bars were lifted I would see much wider gates of opportunity open to me opportunity as existed for everybody else in the United States of America

Instead of crying or complaining about the situation I decided to do something about it The lives of the great Americans in the past and the examples of my neighbors who had started life in the desert against serious handicaps and made good were a strong source of inspiration I decided to take counsel with some of the other members of the board of directors of the Hindustan Association of America in Imperial County and suggested to them that we do something to gain

eligibility rights to American citizenship This would not only afford us our cherished political rights but would also nullify the effect of California s Alien Land Law and thus eliminate one of the most oppressive handicaps to our workaday business life The result of our discussion in Imperial County was an organization that became known as the India Association of America I was honored to be elected its first president We established headquarters in Los Angeles and decided to enlist the cooperation of the nearly two thousand Indian born residents in the state of California

We faced a big task Two courses were open to us One was to obtain a reversal of a former decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which had declared natives of India as ineligible to citizenship and the other was to have a special bill passed in the Congress of the United States of America I strongly urged the latter course I felt certain that if only we could present our story to the representatives of the American people in the Congress of the United States there could never be a no answer to our simple plea for rights to apply for American citizenship

Some very sincere and able friends tried to dissuade me from this struggle and I remember in particular a dialogue I had with a good American friend of mine who asked me how many India born residents were there in America I told him 2 000 or possibly 2 500

Then in a very solemn and serious manner he said Doc I d like to give you some advice Before you try to get a bill passed by the Congress of the United States during wartime for the relief of 2 000 poor Hindus where minorities in the millions can t get to first base you ought to have your head examined "

I laughed but told my friend that I had great faith in the American sense of justice and fair play and the righteousness of my cause

I proposed to present our story to the elected representatives of American people in Congress and I felt positive in my own mind that we would never be refused our request So we formed our organization and I started editing a news bulletin Strangely enough it took a great deal of work to convince the India born residents of California It wasn t that they didn t want citizenship rights but they had suffered so many hardships and had been knocked about so much that it was very difficult for them to believe that there was a chance of our winning

Neither my American friends nor associates in the India Association questioned the need or the justice of our program They just couldn t believe that a hard pressed struggling farmer in Imperial County should be convinced that a major bill aimed at upsetting a historic decision of the United States Supreme Court could be passed in the United States Congress My friends were sincere and meant well for me when they urged me not to get myself involved in such a task Happily I found from the very beginning a fast and dedicated ally in a close personal friend and associate Mr B S Sunga of Brawley He and I had worked together successfully before in launching and directing war bond drives among Indians in California activities which had helped earn us the confidence of those people

Part of our plan was to furnish financial assistance to some leading Indians in New York urging them to make contacts with the members of Congress and other officials and friends of India to rally support for our cause We started raising a fund, Mr Sunga and I each contributing both money and time We made several trips to all parts of California and wrote and mailed out thousands of circular letters These all had to be carefully and patiently lettered by hand with black ink in the Punjabi language and then printed by offset I undertook the lettering which called for hours and hours of work

all of which I had to do at night after I had finished my workaday tasks However soon after we got started support began to come in from all quarters

It was not long before a bill was introduced in Congress jointly by Mrs Clare Booth Luce congresswoman from Connecticut later United States ambassador to Italy and the Honorable Emanuel Celler congressman from New York, now the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee The Luce-Celler bill received support from several liberal internationally minded groups as well as from several powerful American churchmen Nevertheless it became quickly evident that selling the bill to Congress was not going to be an easy task It was a major piece of legislation whose effect would be to upset a historic American attitude toward immigration and naturalization The law as it had been interpreted by the Supreme Court prohibited not only natives of India but natives of all countries in Asia from becoming American citizens Opponents of the bill feared the reaction in other countries in Asia particularly the Philippine Islands if the ban was lifted for the natives of India only These questions raised serious matters of policy and there was a sharp division over the Luce Celler bill in congressional circles Chances for its passage were further handicapped because there was no one particularly powerful force to push it through Suddenly the chances for our success brightened when at the beginning of 1946 President Truman took a special interest in its passage After four years of long waiting and hard effort the Luce Celler bill was finally passed by both houses of Congress and signed by President Truman on July 3 1946

It was a great triumph for us all For my part I was now free to become a citizen of the United States but I learned that this was not an easy matter even with the permission to apply The Department of Immigration and Naturalization very carefully analyzes the past behavior and character of

The complication arose from the fact that I would not be a citizen of the United States a full year by election day in November but I would be a citizen for more than one year on the date when I would take office should I win After I was elected my opponents immediately started a move to block me from taking office A petition was filed in the Superior Court of Imperial County to void my election on the grounds that I had not fulfilled the citizenship requirements I immediately announced that I would not contest the case in court I took the position that the question of my eligibility to that office and the legality of the election had to be decided by the court For my part I would not contest it

The court granted the petition declared my election null and void and ordered the certification of election which had been issued to me by the county clerk to be returned. This created a vacancy for the post which would have to be filled by appointment by the County Board of Supervisors My friends in Westmorland immediately began circulating a petition addressed to the Board of Supervisors requesting that I be appointed to the position from which I had been barred by the court order on a legal technicality To my great delight more than twice as many voters in my judicial district signed this petition than had originally voted for me in the election A similar petition was signed by most of the mayors of cities in Imperial County the presidents and leaders of different civic and professional organizations including the chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican county central committees of Imperial County My election and the subsequent court action against it had become the talk of the county and I discovered that most of the people were on my side But the supervisor representing my own district was the person who was to make the recommendation to the board and he was opposed to my appointment On the day set for making

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each individual applicant I soon found out that the Depart ment knew a great deal about me Because I had been active in the support of the nationalist movement of India ever since my arrival in America in 1920 the Department had quite a file on me and when I was called in Los Angeles to appear before an inspector I was examined under oath in minute detail The inspector knew of all the speeches that I had made during the past ten years where I d made them and when

You made a speech in the Philharmonic Auditorium on March 15 1942 he told me Do you have a copy of that speech?"

No I said I don t keep copies of my speeches However at that time we were agitating against the continuance of British dominance over India I must have elaborated on the justice of India s demands for self rule and ended up by damning the British rule in India

Then he said You spoke in the Embassy Auditorium on October 2 1945 Do you have a copy of that speech?

No sir I answered But October 2 is Mahatma Gandhi s birthday I must have talked on Gandhi s life and explained his teachings Then as usual I must have ended by again damning *British rule in India*

The inspector laughed He was Irish

I received my naturalization papers on December 16 1949 from the Superior Court of the county of Imperial in El Centro California

The local judge in the town of Westmorland was Mr Glen Killingsworth a close and beloved friend of mine for many years and a leader in the Democratic party circles of Imperial County At that time he was vice chairman of the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee and was expected to be elected chairman for the next year I had worked un officially with him for many years in Democratic party affairs

and I was understandably flattered when he invited me to be his running mate as a member of the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee at the next primary election in June 1950 He wanted me to be a member of the County Central Committee so that when he became chairman he could appoint me the committee s secretary So my name was placed on the ballot and without opposition I was elected to the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee at the first election after my citizenship Unfortunately and to my great sorrow a few weeks after the election my beloved friend died suddenly of a heart attack

I had watched him closely in his work as judge in Westmorland for many years I admired the office and the way he filled it and now that I was an American citizen I decided that I wanted to be the judge in Westmorland Accordingly I became a candidate for that office at the next general election in November 1950 At first it did not appear that I had much chance No Hindu or foreigner had ever been elected to any high office in Imperial County before that time But the judicial district was a small one and I personally knew nearly all the voters in it I immediately began my campaign by ringing doorbells meeting people and asking them for support in my bid for the judgeship Slowly week by week, my chances seemed to brighten and to my delight and surprise on election night I found out that I had won

Then began a series of events in rapid succession which were to teach me practical lessons in politics and test my mettle as a new American When I filed my nominating papers for judge the county clerk and I had studied together the question of my eligibility for that office He said he would have to take the matter up with the district attorney before he could formally put my name on the ballot The difficulty lay in the law that specified that a person must be a citizen for at least one year before he could hold that particular office

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the appointment the formalities of reading the petitions were followed but it was quite apparent that the cards were stacked against me I was passed over and a well respected business man in the community was appointed to fill the vacancy Both of the daily newspapers in the county came out with editorials in support of my cause urging the Board of Supervisors to appoint me At the time the appointment was made I had already been a citizen for more than one year and I was definitely eligible to hold that office I was disappointed but by no means discouraged It was my first political battle and victory had turned into a defeat My opponents were more powerful than I

But I remembered the fight that I had seen between two boys at the Berkeley High School grounds in 1920 and decided that this was the time for me to practice a little good sportsmanship of my own When the case was filed in the Superior Court, I figured it was up to the court to decide on the legal merits of the issue I had no money to hire an attorney and did not think it necessary or proper to do so After the court declared the election null and void it was the privilege of the Board of Supervisors to make the appointment I thought I deserved the appointment but the board did not The board had made their decision under their legal authority and I should have no basis for complaint

Besides I knew there was another election coming in 1952 In 1950 an amendment to the state constitution was passed reorganizing the lower courts in the state of California It provided for elections to be held for justice court judges throughout the state for 1952 and required any new candidates for the office of justice court judge to pass a special law examination to be set by the State s Judicial Council I had decided to be a candidate in 1952 so I immediately ordered the necessary lawbooks and began preparing myself The exami

nation was not hard as I had expected and I passed very easily and filed as a candidate for judge of Westmorland Justice Court

Mr C F Boarts a highly respected colorful old resident of Westmorland for more than forty years had served honor ably and with distinction for many years as chairman of the school board He was a very close friend of mine and a wel come companion He and I never did agree on political mat ters but our arguments were always friendly I remember him saying to me after my ill starred election in 1950 Saund I like you You know we ve been friends a long time but I don t want you to be judge in Westmorland

When I asked why he said I ll be frank with you Saund I want an American to be the judge in Westmorland

Then I asked him what fault he found in my Americanism and his answer was Well you re a kind of an American, I suppose but I can trace my own origin to a family that came over on the *Mayflower*

I congratulated him on his ancestry and then asked him what precinct he voted in and whether he d voted in the last election

"What a strange question I vote in the Spruce precinct and I ve never missed voting in an election since I became twenty one years old"

Then I asked him how many ballots he had been given

What a foolish question for an educated man to ask he said testily They gave me one ballot

Well Mr Boarts" I said Isn t that a strange coincidence I just got one ballot too"

Another man someone I had known for more than fifteen years and who had at times worked for me said to a friend during the fifty campaign "I agree that Saund would make a good judge but I just can t go for a Hindu for judge"

As it happened this man had a large family and I found out

that while he voted against me ten younger members of his family voted for me And that generally was the pattern— most of the young people voted for me while the older ones my generation or older on whom I thought I could depend for support went against me Prejudice and discrimination against the Hindus and Orientals were to be found largely among the older people but there was little or no trace of it among the younger generation

I had failed in my objective to become a judge in 1950 but I harbored no bitterness against my opponents Throughout 1951 and 1952 I continued my activities in support of Community Chest drives the Boy Scouts and particularly the March of Dimes for which I acted as chairman for two years Also during 1951 I had been appointed chairman of a drive to raise funds to complete work on a swimming pool built some twenty years earlier by the WPA but which because of a lack of proper facilities had never been opened This big project was sponsored by the Lions Club It happened that the president of the club who appointed me chairman of the drive was the same man who had filed the suit against me and was mainly responsible for blocking me from taking over the judgeship

I worked hard on that and the other various campaigns The swimming pool I m happy to say was completed and Westmorland led all the towns in Imperial County with the largest per capita collection in the March of Dimes drive These various community wide efforts kept me in very close contact with the people of my district

When the 1952 election came the bitterness of 1950 was revived again However the people had not forgotten what had happened then Most of them felt I had been done an injustice and this was an opportunity to correct it It was a very bitter campaign The incumbent judge was highly respected as an established businessman in the community a

member of the church board and the head of a fine family Since there were no issues of substance the campaign reduced itself to a question of personalities I never said a word against my opponent My campaign slogan was I am not running against anybody all I m asking for is a job and it s up to you to judge whether I deserve your support or not

Not only was there opposition to me again on racial grounds I suffered an additional handicap In late 1950 there was a vacancy for the position of postmaster in Westmorland, and because I was a member of the Democratic County Central Committee it was up to me to make the recommendation for that appointment I had recommended a man who had been a thirty year resident of the district a man widely respected and admired But another strong and powerful group within the Democratic party one of them the second member from the town on the county Central Committee was backing another candidate My only objection to this new candidate was that he had been in Westmorland only a short time There was a big fight over this appointment in the Imperial County Central Committee and I had won out Among those I had defeated on this question were some powerful local Democrats The bitter feelings they harbored against me carried over to the 1952 campaign and these people were active and vocal in their opposition to my candidacy

One day just three days before the election a prominent citizen who was opposing me bitterly saw me one morning in the town restaurant There must have been some fifty people in there having their breakfast when he came up to me and said in a loud voice Doc tell us if you re elected will you furnish the turbans or will we have to buy them ourselves in order to come into your court?

"My friend" I answered you know me for a tolerant man I don t care what a man has on top of his head All I m interested in is what he s got inside of it"

All the customers had a good laugh at that and the story became the talk of the town during the next few days

I won the election and took office in January 1953 and served as judge for four years until my election to the Congress of the United States in 1956

When I was sworn in as judge the people of Westmorland were facing a big and serious challenge The back street of Westmorland just one block north from the main Highway 99 had become a den of vice It was known everywhere that for all practical purposes the street was wide open and that prostitutes and gamblers drew patrons from as far as one hundred or more miles away One had only to drive through the street at any time of night to see hundreds of new out-of town automobiles parked jammed one against the other on both sides It was generally believed by the citizens of the town that the operators of the back street establishments were getting protection from the town police I had resolved that if elected I would bend every effort to clean the town of these conditions But before moving ahead I wanted to make sure I would have the solid support of the townspeople To that end I sought the advice and assistance of the minister of the Community Church We then jointly prepared a petition addressed to the City Council of Westmorland asking that the back street be cleaned up The petition was circulated by the minister and was signed by all the leading citizens of Westmorland, including my predecessor as well as some of my most bitter opponents in the election Those who opposed the clean up drive immediately threatened me with a recall petition hoping to capitalize on the fact that I had been elected by the very narrow margin of thirteen votes However by this time any bitterness the campaign might have en gendered had disappeared and the majority of the voters

thought of me as a fellow citizen who had the community s best interests at heart

The knowledge that I had most of the people of Westmor land solidly behind me was most encouraging but despite this heartening support I soon learned that I could hope for little help from either the city council or the police department of the town

In realistic terms the problem came down to ridding the community of the criminal element which owned and oper ated the gambling houses and bordellos Most of these men and women were well heeled and well informed criminals They knew how to get police protection and as insurance against further trouble they always maintained close contact with expensive and able criminal lawyers In addition to gambling and prostitution the back street was becoming a center for the peddling of dope It seemed clear to me the best way to get at those running these filthy businesses was to bring them to book on minor misdemeanor charges

My readers will recall that when the federal authorities finally succeeded in putting Al Capone behind bars in a fed eral prison it was on the comparatively minor charge of evading payment of federal income tax Long-drawn out and expensive lawsuits have never held any awe for hardened criminals but they always tremble in fear of a jail sentence

In 1950 the district attorney had tried seven separate cases for misdemeanor charges in the Westmorland Justice Court but each case ended in a hung jury and no conviction This had left the district attorney with the feeling that it was impos sible to obtain a conviction in Westmorland against any of the operators on the back street This however was wrong The trouble lay elsewhere and it became clear soon after the citizens committee to rid the town of vice was formed in 1953

In California courts during misdemeanor trials both the

prosecution and the defense not only have the privilege of challenging jurors for cause but in addition both prosecution and defense are allowed ten peremptory challenges without cause This gives ample opportunity for both sides to rid the jury of any objectionable persons who may be prejudiced one way or the other In a small community like Westmorland where the jury list is normally small and where the relationships of the residents are quite intimate and everybody is everybody else s neighbor the task of getting an impartial jury for the trial of a local resident is normally difficult Under those circumstances it is not difficult to understand why most of the cases had ended in hung juries A defense attorney had only to be certain of one person on the jury who would hold out to the end for acquittal in order to get a hung jury

Before the 1953 trials in the justice court had started the citizens of the town were beginning to smart under the epithets that were being applied to Westmorland throughout Imperial County It had reached a point where the children from Westmorland going to school in Brawley were subject to jeers and jokes about their home town from their fellow students in other towns of the county

The Westmorland citizens committee among its other duties was fully prepared to assist the district attorney in the selection of impartial juries At the same time thanks to the drive to improve conditions in the town more citizens were ready and willing to serve as jurors The result was quickly evident The defendants received fair trials there was no fixing of the juries and those clearly guilty began to receive guilty verdicts

It had become the custom in our city court for the police to haul the prostitutes in once a month and charge them with vagrancy whereupon they were fined $100 apiece and let go After my election when the first batch was hauled into my

court instead of a $100 fine they each got a ninety day sentence in the county jail something neither the defendants nor the police were prepared for That was the beginning and the end of that kind of vagrancy case being brought into my court by the city police

Together with a committee of the townspeople I sought the help of the district attorney and the United States Department of Immigration in this work Most of the girls on the back street had been brought into the country illegally from across the border in Mexicali The Immigration Department knowing this would raid the houses and then haul the girls into my court on vagrancy charges I would then give the girls a stern and scarifying lecture sentence them to ninety days in the county jail suspend the sentence and put them on probation for two years on condition that they not violate any federal state or local laws And I made it clear that if they were ever again caught in Westmorland they would have to spend a great deal of time in the jail in El Centro The girls were then turned over to the immigration authorities who deported them to Mexicali

For a time this worked very well for word spread quickly all through Mexicali about the tough new judge in Westmorland and the girls were unwilling to risk a lengthy jail sentence However their bosses in Westmorland were not to be so easily cowed Some of them searched out the deported girls in Mexicali promised them full police protection and brought them back to Westmorland As soon as these girls were arrested for the second time they were made to serve their sentences in the county jail We had a few criminal cases against some of the owners of the establishments in the back street However the final showdown came when the big vice king and his wife the queen of the back street were charged

with contributing to the delinquency of a minor in their combination gambling house and bordello

The vice queen of Westmorland was a notorious character who had been previously convicted in federal court on a narcotics charge and had served a prison sentence in a federal penitentiary When she appeared before me she was charged with two counts of misdemeanor and one of contributing to the delinquency of a minor In each case a seventeen year old Mexican girl whom she had allegedly smuggled into Westmorland was involved I bound her over to the Superior Court on the charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor and she was tried before a jury in my court on the two misdemeanor charges She retained the best known criminal lawyer in Imperial County It was a long and tiring trial for I was charged with deciding many important questions relating to procedure and the admissibility of evidence

The defendant was found guilty as charged and when she came before me for sentencing she tearfully pleaded for mercy She brought out the fact that she was sick that if I gave her a jail sentence she would be in danger of having her probation from a previous federal prison sentence revoked

I told her "When you came to me at the time this case was filed against you you begged me to keep the name of your daughter out of the case and I acceded to your request Then I had some respect for you but I am not going to show you any mercy at this time because you should have known that this girl to whose delinquency you have contributed so flagrantly and without compassion also has a mother"

I therefore gave her the full penalty of the law one year in the county jail and a $1 000 fine

The case against her husband was to come up for trial a week later but he forfeited his bail and fled into Mexico This man was a braggart He openly declared he was ruler of the

back street and liked to be called Maestro" No effort was made by the district attorney or the sheriff to have the man extradited and brought to trial in Imperial County All the law enforcement officers including myself were glad and happy to be rid of that notorious character for good

After the vice queen had been lodged in the county jail and her husband had fled the country the back of the resistance against our move to clean up the back street was broken We had several minor cases against the hold outs but each time I held to my pattern of meting out stiff jail sentences Finally it was brought home to the old time purveyors of vice and the owners of the different joints on the back street that there was no mercy to be had in the Westmorland Justice Court They gave up in desperation The net result was that within a year from the beginning of the people s campaign to rid Westmorland of vice the doors of these evil establishments were locked and boarded for good

The district attorney and I had worked hard but without the solid backing of the community as a whole and the willingness of the citizens to serve as jurors it would not have been possible for me or the district attorney to have succeeded in our drive

Before the crackdown the clientele of the back street joints in Westmorland consisted of two separate and distinct groups One was made up of Americans from nearby communities and from towns as distant as one hundred miles away This group began to thin out rather quickly as word of the trials and my attitude toward the defendants spread The second group was made up in large number of Mexican nationals who had come to Imperial Valley illegally or on contracts to work on the farms in the area who came to Westmorland to drink gamble and visit the prostitutes This group was kept away by the mere presence of immigration officials in the town

Before long the proprietors of the gambling houses bars and bordellos found out that they were not making the sort of money they used to Besides there was the constant danger of their being ordered to my court for trial on various charges Since those men were there to make money they began to decamp and soon the back street was all but an empty and desolate ghost street

In the early part of 1953 in addition to my duties as judge in Westmorland I had also to preside regularly at the justice court in the county seat of El Centro where I had been assigned as acting judge by order of the State s Judicial Council The local judge was sick and I was assigned to act in his place In El Centro as in Westmorland I had to decide many important cases

One I recall particularly was a charge against the wealthy owner of a food market for doctoring his hamburger He had been charged with a similar offense a year before and on a plea of guilty had gotten off with a small fine This time he made a deal with the district attorney to plead guilty if the district attorney would recommend that no jail sentence be imposed I heard the case and the recommendation of the district attorney The man pleaded guilty and I forthwith fined him $250 gave him a suspended jail sentence of one year and placed him on probation for two years on condition that he appear before my court every two weeks and sign an affidavit under oath that during the previous two weeks he had not violated any of the Pure Food laws In imposing sentence I said It s bad enough for a housewife in this period of rising costs to pay the high prices for the food she buys but it is a shame that in the United States of America she should be paying money to buy poison in our local markets My remarks were picked up and quoted widely and I was happy to learn they had particular impact on other local food markets

Another case that was given wide publicity in law enforcement circles throughout California involved a Westmorland traffic officer At four thirty one morning he had stopped a driver of a car on the charge that he was exceeding the Westmorland town speed limit When he started writing his ticket the driver complained that he was being treated unfairly that he had not in fact exceeded the twenty five mile speed limit At this the officer became furious and used abusive language in front of the man his wife and his daughter When this motorist appeared in my court to answer the speeding charge he told me the story and later asked permission to file a complaint against the officer of disturbing the peace I accepted the complaint, and the officer was brought to trial on the charge of disturbing the peace which includes in its broad definition the use of abusive language in front of women or children I found the officer guilty of the charge and gave him a thirty day suspended jail sentence and a $100 fine In pronouncing sentence I said "It is not an even contest when an armed policeman starts cussing an unarmed citizen"

In the larger courts of El Centro and Brawley one afternoon each week was set aside for the convening of the small claims court These courts were designed to facilitate the adjudication of claims up to one hundred dollars without the delay and expense of regular civil action Four special provisions in the law deserve mention First no attorney was permitted to participate in any actions before the small claims court Second no action in the court could be filed by an assignee which kept all professional collection agencies out of the picture Third the decision of the court was final and binding on the plaintiff and not subject to appeal Finally the plaintiff was obligated to accept not only the amount of judgment but the manner of payment which might be set up by

the court For a fee of fifty cents a plamtiff could have a case filed m the court

I understood the necessity of the small claims court and beheved m the necessity of adhermg to the letter and spirit of its provisions A majority of the cases were uncontested or unchallenged because they involved mostly current delin quent accounts of merchants or fees for professional services rendered

The court was authorized to gather testimony on small claims court cases outside of the regular court proceedings Whenever there was any doubt I used to take advantage of the services of the court constable to go out and gather evidence for me Quite often the defendants did not appear Yet m doubtful cases before I rendered a default judgment I would send the constable out and collect any testimony that might be available Besides I always hesitated to give a judgment to the plaintiff without allowing the defendant an opportunity to set up a schedule of small payments by which to liquidate his debt I would take time sometimes to the annoyance of the functionaries in the court with each defendant explaining to him the dangers of having a judgment rendered against him I would point out that judgment could be used against a workingman to garnishee his salary and could cause a great deal of annoyance I would always urge the defendants to make every effort to set up a schedule which they could safely meet This worked quite well in most cases and the real purpose of the law was thus well served without undue hardship to the debtors

The small claims actions afforded an excellent opportunity without expense for creditors to obtain judgment against their debtors Since the creditors were always well informed as to the provisions of the law the only way the full protection of the law could be guaranteed to the debtors was for the judge

to use his authority to set up for them a reasonable schedule of payments I found this to be extremely helpful in saving many a careless debtor from serious embarrassment later on I knew of cases where good workers because of their negligence in paying certain bills had had judgments rendered against them and because of garnishments of their wages afterward by unscrupulous professional collection agencies had lost their jobs

My judicial abilities were most severely tested however by the family quarrels that occasionally came before my court It sometimes happened that a citizen under the influence of liquor would in the course of a family fight become violent These cases were invariably brought to my notice by the wife complaining of her husband It was the custom in my court to have the wife sign a formal complaint This gave me the authority to have the offending spouse brought before me There was never any intention on my part to prosecute the husband and in most of the cases the man would still be drunk when he was brought into court. I would let him sleep it off in jail overnight The next morning in court he was not only hung over but sincerely repentant By that time the wife would also have been moved somewhat toward forgiveness My tactic was to give the man in question a good stiff lecture and threaten him with jail for six months At this he would wail about his job and his family I d tell him he needn t worry about that

"The county of Imperial will take care of your family" I d say "and, in the meantime we'll put you in jail so you can sober up for about six months I want you to understand that I will not countenance any violence toward any women in my judicial district"

Tears of sorrow and remorse would then begin to issue from both husband and wife After a bit I would tell the man (in

many instances someone I had known for many years) I'll let you go this time if you will promise me never again to strike your wife I shall let you go this time on probation and if you ever strike your wife again I'm going to have you picked up and thrown in jail This always seemed to work very well and the husband and wife would be in each other's arms as they left the court When word got around how tough I was in these cases they began to diminish in number And as far as I know none of the men who were released on probation ever has broken it

In 1954 for the first time the Democratic party entered a candidate in the general election for the position of congressman for the 29th Congressional District Up to that time under the cross filing system of California the incumbent congressman had succeeded in winning the election in the primary by winning both the Democratic and Republican nominations In 1954 I had been elected chairman of the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee The 29th Congressional District is composed of Riverside and Imperial counties Riverside County is the larger of the two and contains more than 80 per cent of the voters of the district Mr Bruce Shangle the nominee of the Democratic party was a resident of Riverside County and had to spend most of his time campaigning there and thus it was not easy for him to pay much attention to Imperial County He knew the election would be decided in Riverside County and so it fell on my shoulders to manage his campaign in the county of Imperial In this capacity I had the opportunity to represent him in public meetings and at one time I had to appear on the same platform with his opponent the incumbent Republican congressman Mr John Phillips It was his habit to make a

tour of Imperial County each election year and speak before all the service clubs During this particular campaign year with the help of the Democratic members in the service clubs I arranged to follow Mr Phillips during his tour This gave me a chance to talk on behalf of the Democratic nominee To do this I had to make a study of the national issues in the campaign This in turn gave me a good insight into the workings of a congressional office and the duties a congressman has to perform The Democratic candidate was not successful and indeed was easily defeated by the Republican congressman

However he did so well under the difficult circumstances facing him that it gave encouragement to the leaders of the Democratic party in the 29th Congressional District From the day of our candidate s defeat in 1954 there was talk of putting up a strong candidate with united support behind him from both Riverside and Imperial counties in the 1956 congressional elections

At the beginning I never thought of becoming a candidate myself After several conferences between the Riverside and Imperial County Democratic party leaders it became evident that there wasn t any outstanding candidate from Democratic party ranks who would have the support of the party organization and at the same time be willing to spend the time and the effort required to make a successful campaign

As chairman of the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee I automatically became a member of the Democratic Executive Committee of the state of California In addition I was elected as one of the members of the twenty nine member steering committee during the years 1955 and 1956 The steering committee was composed of representatives of the different elements in the full executive committee I was elected by the chairmen of the different southern Cali

fornia county committees This gave me a splendid oppor tunity to become personally acquainted with the leaders of the Democratic party in the state of California and at the national level as well

By about September 1955 I began receiving assurances of support from important Democratic leaders in Riverside County should I ever decide to become a candidate for Con gress Then Mr Shangle our candidate in 1954 assured me that if I decided to run in 1956 he would give me his full support This endorsement was most significant because of the high regard in which Mr Shangle was held personally throughout the 29th Congressional District to say nothing of his prestige as titular head of the party in the district That is when I first started entertaining the thought of running for Congress in 1956

I had lived in Imperial County for many years and as judge of the justice court had presided over the courts in the different cities of the county My name had become quite well known and during the 1954 campaign my activities on behalf of the party nominee had attracted sufficient notice so that I felt confident of loyal support from my party in Im perial County But in Riverside County I was an utter stranger except for my acquaintance with the members of the Demo cratic County Central Committee there and other prominent party leaders

By the end of October 1955 I had definitely made up my mind to become a candidate To a considerable extent latent ambitions in me to become a public official might have been aroused by my close association and day to day work with the leaders of the Democratic party in California The two peti tions that were circulated and signed by most of the members of the Democratic County Central Committee of Riverside and Imperial urging me to run had helped nourish those ambi

tour of Imperial County each election year and speak before all the service clubs During this particular campaign year with the help of the Democratic members in the service clubs I arranged to follow Mr Phillips during his tour This gave me a chance to talk on behalf of the Democratic nominee To do this I had to make a study of the national issues in the campaign This in turn gave me a good insight into the workings of a congressional office and the duties a congressman has to perform The Democratic candidate was not successful and indeed was easily defeated by the Republican congressman

However he did so well under the difficult circumstances facing him that it gave encouragement to the leaders of the Democratic party in the 29th Congressional District From the day of our candidate s defeat in 1954 there was talk of putting up a strong candidate with united support behind him from both Riverside and Imperial counties in the 1956 congressional elections

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CANDIDATE SAUND

In mid November 1955 one hundred friends from Riverside and Imperial County gathered at Indio California and endorsed me as Democratic candidate for Congress in the forthcoming 1956 election I accepted the endorsement and from that day on I was an avowed candidate and there was no turning back While the meeting itself was a source of gratitude and satisfaction to me I realized that these friends of mine had come only to pay a personal tribute While they were willing to give me all the support they possibly could I knew they felt deep in their hearts that there really wasn t much chance of my winning the election and going to Congress

The first big break in my candidacy came a month later Mr Phillips the incumbent congressman a veteran of forty years of public service in his seventh term in the House of Representatives announced that he would retire at the end of his current term and not be a candidate for re election This threw the race wide open Within a month eight candidates had announced their intention to run in the June primary two Democrats and six Republicans

Among the Republican candidates were a school principal,

a schoolteacher a member of the Riverside City Council a retired navy admiral and the scion of a highly respected pioneer family of landowners in Riverside County a man named Fred Eldridge The sixth candidate was the world famous aviatrix Jacqueline Cochran Odlum winner of many prizes in the field of aviation leader of the women fliers during World War II and wife of the multimillionaire financier Floyd Odlum

On the Democratic side were myself and a well known Riverside County attorney Mr Carl Kegley a man active in California politics who at one time had been a candidate for attorney general of the state of California on the Democratic ticket

At the start my campaign committee had an important decision to make Should my name appear on the ballot as "Dr" because I had a Ph D degree or Judge" because I was a judge of the justice court? We decided I should be listed as Judge D S Saund Among my personal friends and political associates I was known as Judge Saund and it was considered proper that I keep that title during the campaign Also since the first public office to which I was elected after I became a citizen of the United States was judge of the justice court, the title had a special meaning to me Henceforth I was known as Judge Saund, a candidate for Congress

Cross filing was the rule in California and seven out of the eight candidates had declared their intention to file on both the Democratic and Republican tickets Even before the 1956 campaign began things were humming politically in the 29th Congressional District All the candidates were very active and confident and a lively campaign and a wide open race seemed assured The prize was membership in the House of Representatives of the United States of America representing two large sprawling counties in the unique colorful desert area of southern California

The official party organizations the Republican and Democratic Central committees were not permitted by law to endorse any candidate before the primaries But the unofficial party organizations among the Democrats the Democratic clubs were anxious to hear the two Democratic candidates Thus I had plenty of opportunities to appear on the same platform with my opponent before the different Democratic clubs of the two counties The six Republican candidates similarly appeared before the various Republican groups It became apparent that the voters would have a choice between eight candidates who represented a wide range and variety of political opinion There were ultraconservative candidates on the Republican side and on the Democratic side two liberals On two occasions all eight candidates were invited to appear on the same platform and there I had a chance to meet my opponents in person and find out just where they stood

Before very long it was clear that the Republican race had narrowed itself down to Mrs Odlum and Fred Eldridge and throughout the period preceding the primary election I seemed to be the favorite on the Democratic side But then the primary campaign started to get extremely bitter in both the Democratic and Republican camps

My Democratic opponent began efforts to have me disqualified as a candidate on the technical grounds that I had not been a citizen of the United States for seven years According to the Constitution a man has to be twenty five years of age and a citizen for seven years before he can become a member of the House of Representatives My opponent filed a petition first in the Appellate Court and later in the Supreme Court of the state of California, asking for an injunction enjoining the county clerks of Riverside and Imperial counties from placing my name on the ballot This gave me my first good break in the campaign

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over the eligibility or qualifications of members of the House of Representatives because the Constitution is explicit that the sole judge of the qualifications of a member of the House of Representatives is the House of Representatives itself

On the day the case was filed and again on the day of the hearing before the Appellate Court and then again when the Supreme Court acted my name was all over the front pages of every newspaper in the district In addition to the publicity these cases turned out to be highly favorable to me in another way The American people believe in giving contestants an even chance in any contest political or otherwise and they don t like it when one of the contenders tries to have his opponent knocked out before he has a chance to get into the ring I had become a definite underdog and at no time in my opinion, is that a handicap in a political race

As election time neared my Democratic opponent became increasingly violent in his attacks on me He quoted passages from my book, *My Mother India* quite out of context and ran a virulent full page ad in the newspapers of both counties In addition he attacked me severely in several radio broadcasts I paid little attention to these attacks and in fact refused to listen to the radio broadcasts Indeed the full page ad was of such a nature that the three leading daily papers in the district refused to print it on grounds that it was libelous My friends were angry and disturbed over all this but I couldn t let it bother me in the least I had positively and definitely made up my mind to present myself as a candidate for the high office of congressman on my own merits and not say a word against my opponent I thus never felt the need nor the desire to answer his charges

Later in the general election the Republican campaign also hit hard at my being born in India Every effort was made to make it appear that I was an Indian not an American In newspaper ads I was not called D S Saund but Dalip Singh in

big letters and Saund in small letters This sort of practice was widespread but apparently it did not hurt my candidacy either in the primary or general election

In the primary election I won the Democratic nomination hands down with a tremendous majority Mrs Odlum won the Republican nomination only by a close margin from her runner up Fred Eldridge but she received a larger combined Republican and Democratic vote than I did She was in the lead and thus started her campaign for the November general election with a fair assurance of victory

My friends and I decided that the key to a successful campaign lay in finding and creating opportunities for me to be seen and heard in public by as many people as possible in Riverside County Barbecues seemed to be the answer With the cooperation of the different Democratic groups and my supporters in the various communities of Riverside County we began to sponsor a series of free barbecues The meat was furnished by my committee in Imperial County and my friends and neighbors in Westmorland prepared the barbecue and hauled it fresh from the pit to the town where the barbecue rally was to be held The local Democratic clubs furnished the hall the beans the salad the coffee and the buns This sort of program proved very successful We had barbecue rallies in nearly a dozen communities in Riverside County Thanks to the joint efforts of the local Democratic clubs a good deal of enthusiasm was aroused Crowds ranged from two hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred and the average was between three hundred and four hundred

But the barbecue rallies in my behalf were peanuts compared to the one big free barbecue which my opponent Mrs Odlum staged in the Riverside County fairgrounds in her home community of Indio This event was widely advertised and attracted a large crowd Mrs Odlum was of course a celebrity in her own right, but she added other attractions

and among those who appeared on the program at her bar becue were Bob Hope and Rin Tin Tin

I had won the nomination of the Democratic party but I faced a number of formidable handicaps as I started the campaign I was in the first place running for Congress on the Democratic ticket in a district that had never elected a Democrat to Congress in its entire history My opponent was a colorful world famous aviatrix as well as a diligent hard working capable and imaginative campaigner To give an illustration on the day nominations were filed in the two counties my friends dutifully trudged about circulating the petitions to get the required number of signatures in an ordi nary way Mrs Odlum however took off in her private plane and made stops at different towns and cities in both counties Her supporters along with as many reporters and photog raphers as they could round up met her at the airport where her petition was signed with great fanfare by prominent citi zens of the town

In addition my opponent s campaign had a secret ingredient —money Not only did I lack this but there was an acute shortage of rich supporters for my cause Mrs Odlum on the other hand was the wife of one of the wealthiest men in the country Our Democratic party organization was very enthu siastic but it had been only recently organized My opponent was the personal friend of the President of the United States who in 1956 was at the height of his popularity

Our campaign attracted nationwide publicity Mrs Odlum was a national figure a colorful personality with a Cinderella like success story while I was a native of India seeking a high office no one of my race had ever held *Time* magazine de voted a full page article to the campaign in June 1956 half of the page was devoted to my opponent and half to me Newspapers all over the United States carried stories and national attention was focused on our particular congressional

battle This brought national figures of both political parties to the district Vice President Nixon came to Riverside to speak for Mrs Odlum while the highly popular governor of Tennessee Frank Clement the keynote speaker of the 1956 Democratic convention gave a dramatic and eloquent endorsement of my candidacy before an overflow Democratic rally at Riverside

When we saw we lacked funds to buy space on commercial billboards always an expensive item in a political campaign we made our own using 4 x 8 foot sheets of plywood The committee furnished these homemade billboards and volunteers in the different towns in the district got permission from property owners to place them on vacant lots in cities and strategic sites along the highways and roads in the area We had seventy five signs printed reading ELECT JUDGE SAUND in red letters on a blue background and the name SAUND stretching from border to border These were put up throughout the district and were apparently quite effective Being homemade they attracted attention and the huge letters of my name were eye catching

During the months of July August September and October scores of other volunteer workers walked the streets of the towns in both counties ringing doorbells and passing out literature on my behalf One lady a resident of the Palm Springs area Mrs Amy Croft converted her house trailer into a Saund for Congress" headquarters She stocked it with literature placed large signs Elect Judge Saund Congressman " on both sides and pulled her trailer from town to town behind her car She would go to a town park her trailer in a promising spot and stay there for several days passing out literature putting up placards in prominent places and talking to as many people as she could. Then she would move on to the next town This devoted friend and inspired worker ended her tour by parking her trailer at the business intersec-

tion in the town of Riverside the largest city in the district Soon the effectiveness of the trailer became evident to my opponent and Mrs Croft was asked to move from that location But there was no trouble finding another good spot—it happened to be a lot owned by a well known Democratic businessman Mr Bill Slape

Another lady Mrs Alice Teeple left her home in Coachella Valley rented an apartment in Riverside and served as a volunteer in charge of the Saund for Congress headquarters She was responsible for registering hundreds of voters and helped to organize the precinct workers for the election day effort of getting voters to the polls

With the exception of four or five small weeklies out of nearly forty daily biweekly and weekly newspapers the press was solidly Republican and solidly opposed to me The 29th Congressional District was definitely and historically a safe Republican district and it was therefore extremely difficult for me to receive financial support even from the ordinary pro Democratic sources They all sympathized with me sincerely and they were honest in their appreciation of my efforts but when it came to contributing money we might as well have asked them to bet a hundred to-one shot at the race track

But if money was lacking help was not The volunteer workers people such as Mrs Croft Mrs Teeple and Indio businessman Mr Frank Tebo were marvelous In addition to the efforts of the regulars and volunteers one of the greatest contributing factors to my success at the polls was the hard work done by the members of my immediate family Even before the primary election and then throughout the general election campaign all the members of my family—my wife three children my son in law and my daughter in law—were busy ringing doorbells and passing out literature One time we calculated that members of my family

had passed out 11 000 Saund circulars before the pri mary election in Riverside alone My wife was teaching school at the time and my youngest daughter was a student at U C L.A During the summer vacation they rented an apart ment in Riverside and organized and carried on an intensive campaign of registration They must have called on thou sands and thousands of homes and they gathered about them scores of volunteer workers This proved to be extremely effective On weekends they were joined by my son my eldest daughter my son in law and my daughter in law

All of my children are college graduates and so were my daughter in law and son in law together and separately they made a highly favorable impression I recall that a few days before the election I was having dinner at a popular restau rant near Riverside A prominent Riverside lawyer whom I had known only casually came to my table to say Judge you and your family have made a big impression on the people of Riverside County and if we don t vote for you for Congress it'll be because we want to give President Eisenhower a Republican Congress "

While he was talking to me another gentleman who had been listening came up and warmly shook my hand and said Now look here Judge don t you worry He may vote for *anybody but I m going to vote for you*

To this day more than three years after that campaign people still come up to me to say "I met your daughter" or your son in law called at my house and that is when I decided that I was going to vote for you" They speak simi larly of my wife and my other children who campaigned so patiently and so well Thus I have no doubt that one of the biggest contributing factors in my election was the family s effort on my behalf

Although 1956 was a presidential election year as well as a year in which the state of California was to elect a new United

States senator the main interest of the voters of Riverside and Imperial counties was centered on the race for congress man of their district This proved most helpful to me since it made it that much easier for me to get a hearing People everywhere were eager to meet me personally and learn my views on the issues in the campaign

My opponent was positively opposed to any farm subsidy while I believed (and still do) that farmers need government protection in order to get a fair share in the economic rewards of our American life I cited as an example the fact that while farmers constituted 13 per cent of the population in the United States they received only 6 per cent of the total national income I had farmed in Imperial County for twenty five years and I was thoroughly acquainted with the problems in the Imperial Coachella and Palo Verde valleys particu larly in regard to their vital need for a continuous and con trolled supply of water from the Colorado River

The main campaign theme of the opposition was that President Eisenhower would need a Republican Congress in Washington Coupled with this Mrs Odlum hammered at the point that because she knew the President personally because she was well acquainted with people in important positions in Washington and because of the great influence her hus band wielded in financial circles she would be able to accom plish big things for her congressional district and be able to bring new industries into the area

My answer to this was that I did not claim to have any in fluence in Washington or expect to obtain any special favors for the people of my district because of my intimate acquaint ances with people in high places And yet I made it quite plain that I was no Johnny come lately in politics At that time I was a member of the top leadership of the Democratic party in the state and had become personally acquainted with

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On the second broadcast I had only my wife with me and to close my short television campaign I said If I do not succeed in my objective to be elected to Congress I shall know that it will not be because of the place of my birth or the color of my skin but because the voters of the 29th Congressional District decided to send someone better than myself to Washington

The real climax of the campaign however was a debate between Mrs Odlum and myself held on Halloween night in a junior high school auditorium in Riverside just a few days before the election The interest in the campaign was so great that long before the time of the meeting the auditorium was filled to capacity The debate was broadcast over a network of radio stations in Riverside and Imperial counties As at important political rallies and sports events the broadcast started a half hour before the debate began and lasted nearly two hours

The rules of the debate called for Mrs Odlum and myself to speak for thirty minutes and then answer questions from the audience I conceded to my opponent the choice of position and she chose to open and close She also chose to devote more than half her time in her opening remarks to expounding the virtues of President Eisenhower and running down Adlai E Stevenson

I decided to deal more directly with the occasion and said

I hold in my heart deep feelings of respect for my opponent

I have watched her meteoric career to fame within the last twenty years with pride along with millions of my fellow Americans

I have been thrilled many a time by her great achievements in the field of aviation I knew of the fame of Jacqueline Cochran Odlum long before she became a candidate for Con

gress and I wish to say this tonight Mrs Odlum my respect and admiration for your achievements are second to none

I went on to point out that I was not a candidate for the presidency of the United States and that it was to be under stood that I was a candidate only for congressman from the 29th Congressional District The two candidates for the presidency were perfectly capable in my opinion of taking care of their own campaigns

As for President Eisenhower s needing a Republican Con gress there was the fact that during his first term President Eisenhower received more support from Democrats in Con gress than from his own party s congressional leaders I also pointed out that President Eisenhower favored federal aid to education that President Eisenhower favored revising the Walter McCarran Act in regard to immigration Further more under the President s leadership Congress had enacted the Soil Bank Program I stated that I agreed with Mr Eisenhower s views on all of these issues which was more than could be said for my opponent who had taken diametri cally opposite positions on each one

My opponent then dragged the Prime Minister of India Mr Nehru into the debate saying that he was leaning to ward the Communists and would certainly like to have a man from India elected to the Congress of the United States To this I replied that I was presenting myself to the people of the 29th Congressional District as an American candidate for Congress and not as anyone owing allegiance to any foreign country

The debate reached a very large portion of the voters in Riverside and Imperial counties some estimated that as many as forty to fifty thousand people heard it on radio Further more the entire debate including the question and answer period was reprinted in its entirety in the largest daily

newspaper in the district the Riverside *Press Enterprise*

Mrs Odlum had publicly challenged me to this debate and I must say it proved extremely helpful to me in my campaign I could not possibly have reached that large an audience through any medium within the means of my campaign committee She had big billboards throughout the area while I had the makeshift signs She had the advantage of a well organized campaign under the supervision of professional managers I could not possibly match the lines of advertising in the newspapers or the professional quality of her ads Almost all the press was emphatically on her side Thus reaching this great radio audience was a big help to me at the right time just a few days before the election

After an exciting night of vote counting I came out on top —with a majority of 4 000 votes out of a total of 110 000 votes cast Mrs Odlum defeated me by a considerable margin in the city of Riverside and carried the Palm Springs area by an overwhelming majority of 75 per cent On the other hand I received 60 per cent of the votes in Imperial County and close to that figure in the other farming areas in the district—Palo Verde Valley and Coachella Valley near Indio There were nearly five thousand absentee ballots to be counted yet and even though my majority was too large to be overcome by the absentee votes the election could not be considered official until these ballots were in As a result of this tally my opponent gained only 700 more votes Thus I was the victor by 3 300 votes—the first native of Asia elected to the United States Congress

On the day after the election I received a congratulatory message from Mrs Odlum In reply I thanked her for her kindness and stated that it had been an honor to have her as my opponent

allowances granted and the over all system of setting up an office

First I had to assemble a staff I didn t frankly have any firm ideas about this but suddenly I found myself wading through scores of applications from people who had written me for positions in my office The applicants included former assistants to nationally known retiring senators writers news papermen and so forth I knew I had to be very careful in selecting my secretaries and assistants and some of the men who had applied to be my assistant possessed qualifications that I did not think were necessarily needed by the assistant of a freshman congressman In this difficult task I was helped a great deal by my California colleague Congressman Chet Holifield and his charming and obliging secretary Mrs Dorothy Morrison

I learned that offices are allocated by lot to new members at the beginning of each Congress Mrs Morrison drew for me and was lucky enough to draw number one I thus got an office with a very good location on the second floor of the New House Office Building which had been occupied for twelve years by a senior member from the state of Mississippi who had moved to a larger corner office

I was also fortunate to be able to secure the services of Mrs Elva Bell a veteran of sixteen years service on the staffs of congressmen She took charge of organizing the office order ing stationery and in general getting things lined up and under way

A congressman s allowance permits him to have eight sec retaries since most congressmen maintain an office and staff in their home district as well as in Washington However because of the make up of my district I faced an unusual problem in this regard The two county seats of El Centro and Riverside are more than one hundred and sixty miles apart and no one place could serve properly for both coun

ties My solution was to take on two part time secretaries one in each county for my home district while for my Washington office I hired a staff of five secretaries and an assistant

During the campaign I had become acquainted with Mr Robert Farrow an able reporter and editor on the Riverside *Press Enterprise* In the course of covering the campaign he had written an excellent series of articles on my opponent and myself I had watched him closely and knew him to be above all extremely honest able and well versed in the affairs of Riverside County and its communities He seemed the ideal person to help me in my new job

Finally the office was organized with Bob Farrow as administrative assistant and Mrs Bell as my personal secretary in charge of the office staff We secured the services of a very energetic hard working and versatile secretary Miss Olga Sianis a highly skilled typist and business machine operator Mrs Julia Passman and rounded out the staff with two clerk typists Before long the office was in complete order and we were already beginning to take care of the nearly fifty pieces of mail a day that were coming in from my constituents in Riverside and Imperial counties

At the beginning of my second term of office in 1959 my staff was augmented by the presence of a close friend from Brawley Mr Ray Barnes He is a former editor of the *Post Press* newspapers in El Centro and later was editor and copublisher of the Brawley *News*

(I have known Mr Barnes family intimately for many years and it is a great comfort to have as an assistant a man upon whose personal loyalty and friendship I can rely and whose knowledge of Imperial Valley affairs is extremely valuable to me in my work)

Because of the tremendous publicity my campaign and election had received I went to Washington under very favorable circumstances It often takes a long time for a fresh

man to become known among his colleagues But I found out that everybody on Capitol Hill—members of the House of Representatives the Senate and the staff members in different offices—had read and heard about me

On the day the President delivered his State of the Union message to Congress I could see from my aisle seat the members of the Supreme Court the Senate and the President s Cabinet who had come to the House of Representatives for the President s address I was very flattered when several well known senators stopped to say hello and I was particularly impressed by the reception of Chief Justice Earl Warren He saw me and immediately came over and shook my hand and greeted me warmly I could see that Washington was going to be a highly agreeable place to live

I was invited to be one of the eight speakers at the biannual reception which the Women s Press Club gives at the beginning of each new Congress Among those invited were members of the Cabinet and members of the Senate and the House

At the speakers table I was delighted to find myself seated next to Senator Margaret Chase Smith whom I had long admired for her courageous stand against McCarthyism Here too for the first time I had the opportunity to meet my two benefactors Emanuel Celler and Clare Boothe Luce who had introduced the bill in 1942 that made it possible for me to become a citizen of the United States

I touched on some of my campaign experiences and expressed my pleasure at serving as a living example of American democracy in action The warm reception from that distinguished audience was a big boost to me at the beginning of my career as a congressman in Washington

I was also lucky to get some good advice from Honorable Harry R Sheppard the dean of the California delegation He had warned me that because of the publicity my campaign and election had received I was a marked person This would

be a great help and advantage since I wouldn t have the ordinary new member s problem of getting known to my colleagues But being in the spotlight I would have to be careful how I behaved

I also recall the short talk Speaker Rayburn gave to all of the freshman congressmen It was a great honor he said for any American to be elected a member of the House of Representatives and a still greater honor to be re elected He told us our fate lay in our own hands and that we would find that the older senior members would do everything they could to keep us here if we would let them He went on to say that the only way to learn the rules of the House is to be present in the House whenever it is in session and considering legislation I was also warned that it was wise for a new member not to be too impatient about making speeches in the House or giving out statements without careful thought for the record is permanent

I am most grateful for that advice because I know now how important are the first impressions a new member creates among his colleagues For it is only through their help and assistance that a congressman can ever hope to get anything accomplished for his district

A new congressman s first thought of course is to obtain an appointment on a good committee It s not always easy Naturally I had my ambitions My district contains three of the largest irrigation districts in the United States and they pose constant problems concerning irrigation and reclamation There are also several tribes of Indians in the two counties I therefore wanted to be placed on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee which has charge of all reclamation and irrigation projects as well as Indian affairs In the matter of committee assignments the Ways and Means Committee becomes the Committee on Committees and on the Democratic side the person in charge of committee appointments for the

six western states was Representative Cecil R King from Los Angeles who has been a devoted friend and mentor to me I had had several conferences with him when I met him in Los Angeles after the election He was very cordial and helpful He told me that since there were already two Democrats from California on the Interior Committee there was no chance for me to get an appointment there but he would try to get me on some other good committee However there were very few vacancies in the 85th Congress because there had been no great change in membership as a result of the 1956 election and thus not many good committee appointments were available After a couple of weeks of waiting I resigned myself to being placed on a minor committee But one afternoon to my great surprise and delight I was told that I had been appointed and confirmed as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I was invited to join the committee which was meeting that very afternoon to hear the testimony of Admiral Radford on the Eisenhower doctrine bill I immediately went over and was very warmly received by the chairman and the members of the committee The next few weeks were fascinating and instructive as I heard testimony on this important bill from Secretary of State Dulles former Secretary Acheson and other high officials of the Defense and the State departments

There is a saying among old timers that a freshman congressman should be seen and not heard I therefore decided to make two major concessions First I would let Dwight D Eisenhower be the President of the United States and second I would allow Sam Rayburn to continue as Speaker of the House For myself I would mind my own business and be content with being a freshman congressman from the 29th

Congressional District of California It was perhaps the wisest decision I ever made I was going to attend to my job This involved learning the procedure of the House watching carefully the mail from my people and looking after the problems of individuals and communities that had already been brought to my notice and were coming in fast in every mail.

A congressman s official title is representative and this title clearly defines his duties A representative in Congress represents the people of his district in their individual or collective dealings with the federal government As the people have become more and more involved in the activities in Washington the work of a representative in Congress has become more and more important to the citizens of his district Individuals have many problems with the federal government problems about which they have to seek the help of their representative for he is in a unique position in Washington to act as an advocate in their behalf

During the course of a single session a congressman will get letters from a score or more veterans who may not be receiving their compensation checks or getting the proper recognition of their rights under the different veterans laws Pensioners sometimes have problems regarding their benefits A widow is forced to try to run a business she doesn t understand because her son in the Army has been needlessly posted overseas A taxpayer feels he got a bad decision from the Internal Revenue Service A businessman wants a loan from the Small Business Administration In cases like these ones congressman can almost always help resolve the difficulty

On my first trip back to the district I made it known to my people that I was there to serve them that I wanted them to put me to work on any problems that they had as individuals or citizens of communities I was surprised to meet
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he was due for transfer to a base a thousand miles from California After I got in touch with the Air Force his case was reviewed and his transfer adjusted

There was a case where a Japanese American had not received his indemnity check for damages when he was incarcerated during the war On misguided advice he had failed to accept a check of $10 000 which had been offered him in settlement by the Government and not only that he had failed to fill out the required forms within the prescribed date The statute of limitations had run out and he was left high and dry without this money which he needed very badly to carry on his business

He wrote me and I took the matter up with the proper agency There had to be a special ruling in his case but he got his money

Another case involved a war veteran One Sunday morning he was fixing his car when the jack slipped the car fell on him and he sustained serious body and brain injuries His treatment called for special twenty four hour a day nursing care and his insurance money was soon used up He was a well liked and popular figure in the community and the people of his town raised several thousand dollars for his medical expenses but that money didn t last very long either

In the meantime the community was trying very hard to get him into a veterans hospital The case was brought to my attention and I had some correspondence with a hospital in southern California but to no avail Next time I was in the district I went to the man s home town and found out for myself what a serious condition he was in I called the superintendent of the veterans hospital and although he was courteous he told me that there was absolutely no room in his hospital for this man

Flying back to Washington the next day I tried to think what I could do for this man The first thing I did when I

reached Capitol Hill was to go over to the office of the chair man of the House Veterans Committee Congressman Olin Teague of Texas known as Tiger" to his colleagues

"Tiger" I said, I m in trouble"

"What sort of trouble Judge? he asked I'll do anything I can

I told him the story and he said "You can wire your people that within three days this man will be placed in a veterans hospital"

I need hardly point out that the weight and authority of the chairman of the Veterans Committee are considerably greater than that of a freshman congressman The net result was that my man was promptly admitted to a veterans hospi tal

The population in some areas of my district is increasing at a fabulous rate For example in the city of Riverside and the Palm Springs resort area the population has been growing at the rate of 10 per cent per annum during the time that I have been in Congress This of course raises serious problems for the citizens because the communities outgrow their public facilities so fast I was almost immediately flooded with com plaints from a number of communities about the inadequacy of the postal service Thanks to the help and cooperation of Mr Verne Scoggins the Post Office Department s regional operations director at San Francisco I was successful in my first two years in office in getting nine new post office build ings in Riverside and Imperial counties Then there were some communities where the post office building was not air-conditioned or lacked a drinking fountain a serious and unnecessary inconvenience in a desert area With Mr Scog gin s cooperation I was able to secure these necessary com forts in several desert cities

Before I took office work had been started and partly com

pleted on flood levees on the Santa Ana River an important flood control project to protect the city of Riverside and the surrounding area Nineteen fifty seven was the economy year in Washington D C The President and the Federal Bureau of the Budget were determined to cut down federal expenditures and Congress was not only willing but eager to go along I was told there was danger that funds necessary to complete these levees might not be voted I sought the assistance of several important members on the House Appropriations Committee and I m happy to say I was successful in having all the necessary money appropriated That project has now been completed

The President s budget that year did not include funds for the planning of a flood control project in the Hemet San Jacinto area of Riverside County where flash floods from the mountains are a constant threat to valuable farm and residential property The flood control department of Riverside County gave me all the necessary facts and figures and it was then up to me as congressman to get the money added when Congress acted on the President s flood control budget This was accomplished with special assistance from the powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee Honorable Clarence Cannon of Missouri

That wasn t the only farm problem I had to deal with in my first term Instead of increasing the facilities of the agricultural experiment station in Brawley California on which the farmers of Imperial County depend in a big way the economy budget of 1957 called for a cut of $15 000 from the regular appropriation In addition a new laboratory building was urgently needed at the well known United States Salinity Laboratory in Riverside in order to accommodate its expanding research program In that particular case I was assisted by the chairman of the House Agriculture Appropriations

Subcommittee Honorable Jamie L Whitten of Mississippi He very patiently listened to my story and personally under took the responsibility of having that money appropriated

The funds were included in a lump sum for a number of similar projects throughout the country and later on we learned that all of the money had been spent on other projects and that there was nothing left for Riverside There again was an instance where a congressman just has to go to work I appealed to Mr Whitten and the chairman of the Senate Ap propriations Committee Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona They made special arrangements to put the money in the supplemental appropriation bill

These stories all illustrate how vitally important it is for a new congressman to get to know the chairman of the different House committees and the chairman of the various subcom mittees of the Appropriations Committee I made a diligent effort to do so The generous help of my other Democratic colleagues on the California delegation also made my work easier

These necessary contacts were made as extracurricular chores in a very busy daily schedule My day begins when I reach the House Office Building Cafeteria at eight thirty in the morning where my wife and I have our breakfast Then I go to my office look over the mail and dictate answers until ten thirty when I walk through the tunnel from the House Office Building to the Capitol to attend the morning meeting of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

The House normally convenes at noon Sometimes during the debate I can return to my office to do some more corre-spondence hold conferences with departmental representa tives or work on other problems I then return to the floor for votes The House usually adjourns by four or five o clock, and I then go back to my office read and sign the typed letters

and prepare to go home Usually I just have time to get some party to which congressmen are invited on the avera of about three or four nights a week

Work on important pieces of legislation in Congress done in the committees This includes legislation of natior interest on agriculture foreign aid the various appropriatio public works bills regarding armed services reclamati projects throughout the country and so forth The comm tees go over the bills very carefully Normally on a maj piece of legislation hearings will run for a period of sever months as witnesses from the governmental agencies a organizations interested in the bill are heard During th period the members of the committee listen to the testimor and cross examine the witnesses Then after they ha learned the facts about the bill they meet in executi session for several days going over every word and phra in the proposed legislation with the help of the committ staff

When the legislation is brought to the floor of the Hous the individual members have an excellent opportunity learn the pros and cons of a piece of legislation simply l listening to the opening statement of the chairman of the con mittee and the ranking member of the opposition And durin the general debate the subject matter is generally presente in a masterly fashion and the chairman of the committee an the author of the bill are always ready to answer question In fact if a person stays on the floor of the House during th debate on a bill he has ample opportunity to learn in a ger eral way about the major provisions of legislation

I remember for example when the Honorable Wilbur I Mills of Arkansas chairman of the Ways and Means Com mittee presented the bill which amended the Social Securit Act in 1958 He stood in the well of the House and explaine

the major provisions of the bill for thirty minutes answered questions for another thirty minutes and by the time he was through the members generally knew what it was all about It was a superb job

As a further aid to the members on legislation to be con sidered on the floor a committee report which gives the gist of the particular bill is made available to every member Thus it is possible for a member to inform himself about a piece of legislation which did not necessarily go through his own com mittee Furthermore the chairman and staff of the particular committee are always willing and ready to answer any possible questions

The business of the Congress of the United States is very big business and there are thousands of bills introduced in every session of Congress But only a few hundred of them pass into law And the success of an individual congressman in getting any single bill passed is in direct proportion to the help he is able to muster from the senior members and partic ularly the different committee chairmen

In my favor in that respect was the fact that when I went to Congress as a Democrat the Democrats were in the ma jority and thus held all committee chairmanships This was a big help And normally in my case the chairmen of the com mittees knew the story of my election and knew also that I had won by a slim majority In order for me to win re election I would need help from the senior members so I could get some things accomplished for my district

Soon after my arrival in Washington I discovered that one of the handicaps I suffered was that not very much was known in congressional circles about some of the particular problems of my district I remember having in my office the man in charge of the fresh fruits and vegetables for the Department of Agriculture He was a veteran of more than twenty years

bringing about a serious breakdown and even deterioration of our entire economy If the farmers who constitute 13 per cent of the population of the United States receive only 6 per cent of the national income they must become an ever shrinking market for the products of our industry And because one segment of the population is so closely intertwined with the other if one falls the rest must eventually also fall I went to Washington with definite convictions that the farmers do need a protection though it does not necessarily have to be in the form of subsidies Conditions must be created wherein the farmer will be in a position to command prices for his products that will bring a fair profit

Then I believe that our nation s economic strength depends on free enterprise Its foundation is small businessmen—small businessmen owning their own businesses and operating them at a decent profit under fair competitive conditions

I made these attitudes known to my people before I went to Washington

When issues of national importance and legislation affecting the appropriation of millions of dollars come before Congress the average member has to depend upon his own conscience and beliefs to vote on them properly He also must always bear in mind the thinking of the people back in his own district and how a particular piece of legislation will affect them I have been a member of Congress for almost four years and I have been called upon to vote on major and minor pieces of legislation hundreds of times But contrary to the belief of the people throughout the country no party leader has ever told me how to vote I do not know of one instance when I was told by the leadership to vote any particular way even in matters where a few of our votes would count for the success or failure of a particularly important bill I recall many a time asking the Democratic whip of the

House Honorable Carl Albert of Oklahoma his opinion of how I should vote Invariably his answer would be Judge vote your district" What he meant was to vote the way the people in my district would want me to He has told me several times What we are most interested in is getting you re elected Use your own judgment and follow your own convictions

The fact that juveniles can cross the United States border into Mexico in Mexicali and Tia Juana has posed a difficult problem for parents school authorities and local governmental agencies dealing with juvenile problems in the adjoining communities of Imperial and San Diego counties These problems are becoming more and more serious with the passage of time As judge of Justice Court in Imperial County I learned to what extent youngsters crossing into Mexicali became victims of the evils of drink marijuana and other narcotics and even prostitution Under existing laws there is no authority under which the social welfare agencies or the sheriff's department in Imperial County could stop these kids or for that matter any American citizens from going into Mexico

To relieve this situation a bill had been introduced in Congress by Honorable Bob Wilson my colleague from San Diego in the 84th Congress He introduced the same legislation again in the 85th Congress and I introduced a similar bill But we were frustrated by the fact that the committee didn t get around to holding hearings on either bill I made a personal appeal to the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization Honorable Francis Walter of Pennsylvania for a hearing, and a hearing on my bill was held But because of the intricacy and the long range consequences of any change in the immigration law we were ad

vised that the best way to accomplish our purpose was under the passport regulations of the Department of State I therefore introduced a bill to establish regulations requiring special permission for children under eighteen to cross the border into Mexico The bill was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee

I considered this the most urgent problem before the people of Imperial County and being a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I had high hopes that I would be able to get it approved by the committee and passed by Congress It seemed simple I could not think of anybody objecting to a regulation to stop kids under eighteen from going into a foreign country unescorted by adults parents or guardians But I found out that the difficulties were great because the Department of State was stubbornly opposed to any such regulation That made it impossible to get the approval of the Foreign Affairs Committee

I agreed to modify the bill to the extent that a child could cross the border if accompanied by an adult had permission in letter form from his schoolteacher a local judge or his guardian or was traveling in connection with his school or business I further agreed that the regulation would not apply throughout the country but only in states where the state government requested the Secretary of State to put that particular regulation into effect and excluding any area along the northern or southern borders of the United States except the particular areas where the difficulty existed. But in spite of all this I could not get to first base with the Department of State

This is one of the biggest disappointments I have had since going to Washington but a congressman just doesn t give up on a project in which he sincerely believes because of one or two setbacks Later in the first session of the 86th Congress I introduced a bill to establish an informal relationship between

the representatives of the United States Congress and the Congress of the republic of Mexico My bill provides that twenty four members of the United States Congress (twelve senators and twelve congressmen) will meet each year with an equal number of the representatives of the two houses of Congress in Mexico It provides that the representatives of the two countries sit down together and informally talk over their problems The bill was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and then passed by the House of Repre sentatives during the first session of the 86th Congress in the summer of 1959 A counterpart bill was passed by the Con gress of Mexico in December 1959 In March 1960 my bill was passed by the Senate and signed into law I propose as a first step a talk with the members of the Mexican Congress to explain to them why it is necessary for the Mexican Govern ment to cooperate with the people of the communities of Im perial and San Diego counties in curbing the visits of un escorted juveniles under eighteen into Mexico It would not be difficult to convince the representatives of the Mexican people in Mexico City of the advantages of such a regulation Most of the kids don t go into Mexico to spend money be cause they don t have much of it All they do is get into trouble and the end result is bad blood between the peoples of the two countries

As author of the bill and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I expect to be a part of the American delegation to the interparliamentary conferences between the Congress of Mexico and the Congress of the United States

Because of close contacts between the citizens of Mexico and the people of my district in Imperial County along the boundary problems of mutual concern constantly arise where direct contact between the representative from the 29th Congressional District and leaders of the Mexican Govern

ment in Mexico City would be of great benefit in our mutual relationships

During my first weeks stay in Washington a colleague from California the Honorable Clyde Doyle of Los Angeles invited me to a breakfast meeting in the Capitol of a group called the Breakfast Prayer Group made up of members of the House of Representatives

I became a member immediately and as far as I can recollect have not missed a single meeting during my almost four years in Washington

Between thirty and forty members from both parties meet every Thursday morning between eight and nine o clock One member is assigned as the leader for the morning Each meeting begins with a prayer and then the leader introduces a subject based on a verse in the Scriptures or tells of an appropriate personal experience of his own

Since the group is limited to members of the House alone and no guests are invited participants are able to discuss their own personal experiences and problems freely and without restraint These talks are most inspiring and cover a multitude of subjects among them the responsibilities of the individual and the spiritual guidance and assistance members need in discharging their duties

The remarks of the leaders are followed by an open discussion on the particular subject at hand These meetings held in an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual trust have left a deep impression on my mind and allowed me to form associations with members which have been a source of great comfort and strength I consider membership in this group one of the many rewards of being a member of the great legislative body of the United States

I noticed early in my career in Congress that in the spring and summer months thousands of high school students Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts from all over the United States come

to Washington to visit the capital buildings and the nation s historic shrines Because California is so far away from Wash ington no large groups from my district came to the capital during my first year in office I therefore made a point of writing a newsletter on the subject and in addition in my speeches at home began to urge student groups to adopt a visit to Washington as their project

We have now had visits by three large contingents of youngsters from southern California One was a troop of southern California counties Boy Scouts the other a group of high school students from Palm Springs and still another was a troop of Senior Girl Scouts from Indio My wife is always of great help and assistance to me on these occasions As my time is likely to be occupied with committee work and attending sessions of the House of Representatives my wife takes the callers around and makes arrangements for their tours through the Capitol She performs distinguished and valuable service as a non salaried hostess to the people from the 29th Congressional District

Through my office we can make arrangements for special tours of the White House the Library of Congress the Fed eral Bureau of Investigation headquarters and certain other places of public interest

Occasionally we have been able to arrange through the Doorkeeper of the House to have youngsters sit in the chairs of members and have their leaders sit in the Speaker s chair The young visitors seem to enjoy that immensely

From the letters we have received it is quite evident that the experiences of visiting the nation s capital meeting with some of the leaders of government and seeing the House of Representatives and the Senate in session leave a profound impression on the minds of these young Americans

VII

BATTLES ON CAPITOL HILL

THE most long drawn out battle of my congressional career concerns a hospital The battle started three years ago and the hospital in question is the Corona Naval Hospital situated near the city of Corona in Riverside County about fifty five miles from the naval bases in the Long Beach area This hospital which had been in operation for many years provided facilities for the armed services personnel stationed at bases all the way from San Bernardino in the south to far Oxnard in the north It also served retired naval personnel on the sick list and provided medical facilities for the families of servicemen

Even the 1957 economy" budget in its final approved form provided funds for the continued operation of the Corona Naval Hospital Then *suddenly after the budget* had been approved I received notice that the hospital was going to be closed as an economy measure on orders of the Secretary of the Navy I at once went into action

On the advice of old timers on Capitol Hill the first step I took was to appeal to the members of the California delegation in Congress The Honorable Gordon D McDonough

chairman of the California delegation at my request called a meeting of the entire membership of the California congress men both Republicans and Democrats and we invited the Secretary of the Navy to be present My colleagues from California shared my concern over this proposed action but we got no relief or any promise of relief from the Secretary The delegation then went into an executive session and de cided to approach the President directly on the matter We did but all that got us was a two month delay of the proposed closing And in spite of all our protests all our best efforts the Secretary of the Navy did ultimately order the closing of the hospital

Even so I hoped that the next year with the help of the Appropriations Committee I could place in the appropria tions bill a directive that Corona Naval Hospital be kept in operation With that in view I wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Navy asking the Secretary not to remove any of the equipment from the hospital until Congress convened in 1958 In spite of my letter the Secretary went ahead and issued orders to remove the equipment The hospital was closed for good Nonetheless I have continued my fight to save the hospital s valuable facilities a fight that has gone on for al most three years

The Corona Naval Hospital is located in a picturesque set ting on the shores of a lake and represents an investment on the part of the federal government of $17 000 000 At the time of the closing it was just about full to capacity More than six hundred and fifty patients had to be moved most of the inpatients being sent to a hospital ship in Long Beach Harbor

The need for the Corona Naval Hospital was so apparent and so well recognized that editorials of protest appeared in newspapers throughout southern California I received hun dreds of letters from individuals protesting the Secretary s

action But to my sorrow I have learned that it would be very difficult to have the hospital reopened under the present leadership of the Department of Defense But I have neverthe less been fighting ever since to keep the hospital buildings from being sold by the Department of the Navy Before dis posal action can be taken the Navy must obtain approval of the Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate I made an appeal to the House Armed Services Committee that a full investigation be made before the buildings were dis posed of

It is my conviction that the hospital can be reopened if there is a change of administration and a few individuals who made a wrong decision and are stubbornly resisting any at tempt to have the hospital reopened are gone Its facilities are vital to the area All civilian hospitals are overcrowded and the population of southern California is expanding at a phe nomenal rate and I am therefore hoping for an impartial study by the Department of Defense under a new administration I am convinced such a study will show that these invaluable and elaborate facilities should be used

Another major project that has occupied me throughout my three years in Washington involves the properties of the Agua Caliente Indians of Palm Springs Members of this tribe own large sections of land in and around the city of Palm Springs While the city has grown at an accelerated rate and property values have skyrocketed an entire section of tribal land in the heart of the city remains undeveloped and covered by miserable shacks

A long story lies back of the disposition and division of the Agua Caliente tribal properties among the small number of members of the tribe The total membership of the tribe today is one hundred including minors In 1927 the Secretary of the Interior invited each member of the tribe to choose a property up to forty seven acres to be made up of two acres of city

property five acres for a house and forty acres of desert ranch land The choices were made on condition that the allotments be certified by the Secretary of the Interior before the Indians could become legal owners The members of the tribe made their choices but the Secretary of the Interior refused to grant certification The members of the tribe went to court and on court order the Secretary of the Interior was ordered to make the allotments final Later it was discovered that the allotments made out to those Indians were of unequal value and because prices were continually rising in the Palm Springs area one Indian had property worth $74 500 while another s property was worth $629 000 Some of the members of the tribe again went to court and finally in 1956 the Federal Court ordered that the balance of the property owned by the tribe be parceled out to the members of the tribe to equalize their holdings under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior

In 1955 the Secretary appointed a commission to make a study of the problem while the case was still being heard in Federal Court On the basis of the commission s recommendation after the court order of 1956 the Secretary proposed to Congress new legislation to facilitate the work of equalizing the Agua Caliente tribal lands in Palm Springs The bill was duly forwarded to the chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee the Honorable Clair Engle of California Chairman Engle a good friend of mine in turn sent the bill to me in order that I might introduce it and thus be credited with having a major piece of legislation passed in Congress

I had heard about the controversy of the Agua Caliente tribal lands in Palm Springs during my campaign and so I studied this bill very carefully It turned out to be a fantastic piece of legislation Its most shocking provision involved the creation of a new commission to take care of the tribal properties of the Agua Caliente tribe This commission would con

sist of four members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and three members of the tribal council Not only that the bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to turn the title of the Agua Caliente lands over to the commission and grant it authority to sell lease or dispose of this property in any way its members thought to be in the best interests of the members of the tribe

In other words this was a proposal to turn not the *management* but the *title* of the Indians property over to a commission in which the majority of the membership would be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior Now according to the Department of the Interior s estimate the property involved has a value of $12 000 000!

There were other provisions in the bill that would have violated the normal regulation which stipulated that Indian lands be free from local taxation such as one that permitted the city of Palm Springs to tax the land immediately Furthermore the bill did not in any way limit the amount of money the commission could spend but left that to the discretion of the commissioners

The bill seemed to me completely obnoxious If it passed *the poor Indians would be left quite helpless* I knew from my reading in American history how shabbily some American Indians had been treated but here was an example right before my eyes in my own district to be carried out by special legislation of Congress I could see what would happen to the Indians Under existing laws if the Secretary of the Interior disposed of any of the property for an unfair price even if the money was properly distributed the Indians at least had recourse *to the courts But if Congress passed a special* bill to authorize the Secretary to turn the title over to a commission the Indians would have absolutely no recourse through courts of law I immediately told Chairman Engle that I had serious reservations about the bill that indeed in my opinion

it would be extremely unfair to the members of the Agua Caliente tribe

In the meantime the Bureau of Indian Affairs was beginning to put pressure on me and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs This was in July 1957 The Bureau insisted that the bill was urgent and should be passed before the closing of the first session of the 85th Congress which was expected to adjourn in a few weeks This left little opportunity to hold committee hearings The Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives called on me several times to say that time was of the essence and that the Bureau needed the legislation in order to carry out the court order To my question as to what would happen were the bill not passed the reply was that in that case the court would step in and more litigation will be involved all of which would not be in the best interests of the Indians themselves

I was most polite but I continued to nurse my doubts about the whole thing I knew that the Indian property had been there a long time so why should there be such a hurry to get a bill passed during the closing two weeks of this congressional session? To me the threat of the court getting into the picture to equalize the property of the Indians was no threat at all I had and still have complete faith in our courts and I knew that in such an eventuality there would be nothing but justice done Thus the net effect of all this pressure was to make me even more dubious about the bill I had it analyzed more carefully by experts and finally I was thoroughly convinced that it was a most objectionable piece of legislation in so far as the interests of the Indians were concerned At my request Chairman Engle agreed not to introduce the bill and to postpone any action until the next session of Congress In the meantime he was agreeable to my request that before any legislation was passed full scale hearings be held in the city of Palm Springs Later I saw that grand friend of the Indians

in Congress in my opinion the greatest friend of the Indian people in the United States the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs the Honorable James A Haley of Florida I explained the situation to him and he too declined to introduce a bill in that session of Congress and agreed to hold open hearings in Palm Springs where the Indians and the other interested citizens would have a chance to appear before the committee and go on record

The hearings were held in the fall of 1957 All the committee members agreed that it would not be fair to have that kind of legislation introduced or passed in Congress against the opposition of the tribal council During those hearings I asked the members of the tribal council individually as they appeared before the committee if they understood the meaning *of that particular provision which was to turn over the title of* their tribal properties to a commission the majority of which were to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior The answer in every case was no As a result of the Palm Springs hearings the committee declined to consider the Department s bill any further

But the question of the Indians lands remained unsettled However toward the close of the second session of the 85th Congress I prepared a bill in conjunction with the city of Palm Springs the tribal council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs I introduced the bill in Congress but there was no time to hold hearings or have the bill passed Study of the bill began early in the 86th Congress in the spring of 1959 The Bureau of Indian Affairs agreed to send us a favorable report on the bill but wanted some amendments one of which proposed to dispose of certain property belonging to the tribe which would leave the tribal council without any funds to operate and would in my judgment practically mean the liquidation of the tribal entity The tribal council had an able attorney to

assist them and with his help the proposed amendment was killed

Finally my bill was passed in September 1959 by both houses of Congress and signed by the President of the United States It has the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the wholehearted approval of the entire membership of the tribe and the city of Palm Springs The city has a lease on a section of land belonging to the tribe on which the Palm Springs airport is now located Provision was made in the bill whereby the city would have a chance to buy that section of land at the appraised value

As a companion to the equalization bill for the Agua Caliente tribal properties I was successful in having a special bill passed at the same time which would give authority to the Secretary of the Interior to make leases on properties be longing to the Agua Caliente Indian tribe or its members for a period of up to ninty nine years in order to make the land potentially more attractive to private real estate developers The federal law stipulates that banks cannot loan money on leases for less than fifty years Under existing law leases could be made on Indian lands for twenty five years with an option to extend them another twenty five years This was not always satisfactory because in most cases a year or two would elapse before the deal was finally completed between the prospec tive lessee and the loaning agency Both insurance companies and the banks were in favor of this bill and quite clearly it was in the Indians best interest I therefore worked for its passage and after a good deal of difficulty the bill was passed and signed into law

Now at last the situation in regard to the Agua Caliente tribal lands seems finally resolved after thirty years of long drawn out expensive litigation in federal courts If the Secre tary of the Interior will properly carry out the provisions of the legislation there will be an opportunity for Palm Springs

to expand and for the Indians to realize the full value of their properties Heretofore they were land poor supposedly each tribal member owning property valued at $100 000 or more but forced to live on marginal and sometimes submarginal incomes Now they could come into their own

This of course has been a source of great satisfaction to me This sort of opportunity for important and far reaching public service comes to a congressman only rarely When the chance appears he must be quick to seize it But he can achieve his goal only with the help of his colleagues in Congress and the help of the communities involved In this particular case I had to have in addition to the help of key committee members the complete support of the city of Palm Springs and the tribal council in order to get this bill passed

There were other Indian tribes living in my district whose problems demanded my attention These tribes lived in the farming area of Coachella Valley in Riverside County which is supplied with irrigation water from the Colorado River through the Coachella branch of the All American Canal Initially these canals were built with the capacity to supply water to the entire Valley including several thousand acres of land owned by the three tribes in question the Torres Martinez the Cabazon and the Augustine Underground pipe lines for irrigation and drainage had been installed to most of the land but not to the Indian lands The Indians themselves had neither the money nor the equipment to install proper irrigation pipes on their own and the Bureau of Indian Affairs needed special authorization and appropriation from Congress to help in this development The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Coachella Valley County water district had carried on negotiations for many years but to no effect

In 1957 I introduced a bill designed to break this bottleneck There were delays in starting the hearings on the bill because in the meantime one of the Indian tribes the Torres Martinez,

objected to the legislation Later the water district offered a modification to the bill excluding the Torres Martinez and providing for immediate installation of irrigation and drain age pipes on the lands of the Augustine and Cabazon tribes which were very anxious to have their lands developed

The matter was not resolved until the summer of 1958 just prior to adjournment of Congress when finally at my request the chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee agreed to hold hearings A week before the closing of the session at a special meeting of the full Interior and Insular Affairs Committee called by the acting chairman the Honor able Wayne N Aspinall of Colorado the bill was sent to the floor of the House

The chairman of the committee in giving approval told me he was afraid approval had come too late to get it passed in the current session I was more optimistic and asked him to let me see what I could do being confident that with his help and the help of the members of the committee we would be able to get it through

That late in the session the bill could be brought to the floor of the House by unanimous consent only with the approval of both the House majority and minority leaders There was no difficulty there The Honorable John McCormack the ma jority leader was obliging and so was the minority leader the Honorable Joseph Martin With their consent the bill was placed on the House calendar and passed by unanimous vote

There were only five days left in the session of the Congress and the bill had still to be introduced in the Senate of the United States But in my favor was the fact that the bill had the approval of the Department of the Interior and had passed both Interior Committee and House of Representatives by unanimous vote Even so it could pass through the Senate only with the help of the Senate leadership

I had earlier become acquainted with the majority leader

Senator Lyndon B Johnson He had always been very kind and courteous to me and several times had told me that if I ever needed any help in the Senate to come to him and he would see what he could do

I thus went straight to Senator Johnson and told him "Sena tor I m in trouble

He asked me what he could do for me and I told him my story After asking some questions about the bill he said it was very late in the session but he would see what could be done

With his help approval was obtained from the Interior Committee of the Senate and Senator Johnson put the bill on the consent calendar of the Senate It was passed by the Senate in three days The President signed it and it became law Now the money has already been made available and work has begun As a result lands which were previously lying idle and from which the Indian owners could realize nothing soon may be developed

Incidentally provisions of the bill are such that the Indians will not have to pay any part of the cost of the installation of the pipelines on their ranches This expense will be carried by the Coachella Valley County water district from part of the normal taxes which it collects from developed land

A further provision of the bill stipulated that whenever any individual members of the Torres Martinez tribe wanted to come in they could arrange it with the Coachella Valley ir rigation district with the consent of the Secretary of the In terior I understand that there has been a change of heart on the part of the members of the tribe since then and I am hoping that they will take full advantage of this opportunity to have water piped to their land When the development is completed the Indian lands will be quite valuable If the Indians do not choose to develop the land themselves they will be able to lease it at good high prices to other farmers

Here was another example of the value of cooperation by local leaders with their representatives in Washington Credit for the passage of this major piece of legislation goes to the leaders of the Coachella Valley County water district who worked closely with me all along the line even to the extent of sending their chairman to Washington to testify

Water is both a threat as well as an important resource in my district The city of Palm Springs for example is con stantly in danger of a potential flood from the waters pouring down the Tachevah Creek after a sudden cloudburst in the surrounding mountains In the summer of 1956 the Army Corps of Engineers made a survey for the building of a dam on the creek at the foot of the hills right on the edge of resi dential property In December even before I had taken office the board of supervisors and the city council of Palm Springs urged swift congressional authorization and appropriation for the Tachevah Dam At their request I made a personal call at the Los Angeles office of the Corps of Engineers and discovered that the report was a long way from being com plete In fact when I was in that office (it was on a Saturday afternoon and most of the staff was out) the officer in charge found it difficult even to locate the file

Then followed two long years of correspondence telephone calls and telegrams to and from the different agencies of the Corps of Engineers during which I had the help of John Bryant the able flood control engineer of Riverside County Finally in the spring of 1959 the papers concluded their passage through various stages of approval in the Corps of Engineers at Los Angeles San Francisco and Washington thanks in great part to the support of the amiable chief of the Engineers Major General Emerson C Itschner who had graciously come to my office to discuss the project early in my long struggle The Secretary of the Army added his endorse ment

Then came an annoying veto from the Bureau of the Budget

It is sometimes difficult for citizens and congressmen alike to understand why one agency of the government would veto a project arbitrarily without a public hearing after another agency has spent large sums of money in making surveys and carefully prepared recommendations There are occasions in the life of a congressman when he feels quite frustrated He will have worked long and hard on a project in his district which he knows from firsthand knowledge to be absolutely essential for the protection of life and property He will have enlisted the help and support of the proper government agency Then because of the whim of an official in another department of the government the entire thing is called off That is exactly what happened to me

I had the authorization bill before the Public Works Committee and had made arrangements with the chairman to hold hearings on it The hearings were being delayed because no report had been received from the Bureau of the Budget Just a few hours before the bill was to be considered by the Public Works Committee they sent in their unfavorable report Normally an unfavorable report from the Bureau of the Budget makes it difficult to have a piece of legislation passed

The chairman of the committee knows from experience that it is useless to go through the hard work of getting a bill through the different stages of Congress because if the Bureau of the Budget is not favorable to it it will very likely be vetoed by the President at the Bureau s recommendation

I did not know that when I first went to Congress I believed that when a project had been authorized and the money appropriated by Congress that was all there was to it—the project would be undertaken and work started But I soon found out that is not always the case Congress can authorize a project and can appropriate the money but it is only the

President who can spend that money and he doesn t have to if he doesn t want to

I have had a number of projects in my district initiated by different departments of the administration and I have then worked hard to get the proper authorization and appropriation bills through Congress And then after it was all over the agency will decide not to go ahead with the project This has happened to me several times For instance the Department of the Navy recommended the construction of Capehart housing units for the personnel of the El Centro Naval Air Station in Imperial County Later the Navy changed its plan and said it was going to drop the project So it was with my Tachevah Dam bill And although the Bureau of the Budget effectively killed the latter s chances for that session of Congress I have not given up hope of eventually getting it passed

In addition to these large projects Congress passes hundreds of what are known as private bills These are the pieces of legislation enacted for the relief of individuals As an example take the case of a man in this country on a temporary visa who cannot become a permanent resident because of some special provision of the law Still he may be a most desirable citizen Under those circumstances his only relief lies with the congressman of the district in which he resides who can introduce a private bill in his behalf These bills are considered by the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittees of the Judiciary Committees of the House and the Senate During my three years in Congress I have introduced twoscore of such bills nearly half of them were finally enacted into law and the individuals involved received the relief they needed

There was one young man from my district born in Italy who when I heard of him was working for the famed Mission Inn in Riverside He had come to the United States on a

visitor s visa and wanted to stay permanently He came highly recommended by many leading citizens of the community and I m glad to say that the bill I introduced in his behalf was successfully enacted into law and he became a permanent resident of Riverside Later my wife and I had the pleasure to be present at his wedding to a charming beautiful Riverside girl There are many cases like that and there are also special cases where relief is needed in the matter of a claim through private legislation

Introducing and following up on private bills become quite a chore for every congressman but they can provide moments of real happiness I have gotten particular pleasure from my appointments to the military academies Many of these cases demonstrate how individuals and whole communities respond to the need of worthy youngsters in their midst

One year I appointed a young man from a small town in Riverside County to one of the academies He had been recommended by his school principal as well as several organizations and individuals in the town I found out that the people of the community had collected money to send this boy the son of a poor widow to a preparatory school to study for the competitive examinations He was subsequently admitted to the academy and is doing fine—to the considerable pride of the people who helped him have a chance at a career of service to his country

Another case is a wonderful example of the American sense of fair play and sportsmanship at work This involved a young man the son of a public official of one of the counties who was highly recommended to me in most emphatic terms by the man whom the boy s father had just recently defeated in a bitter political campaign

It sometimes happens that after some of these boys have been nominated and have even started preparation for the competitive examinations they have a change of heart or de

velop an interest in some other field of study In those cases some of them decline to take the examination No harm is done because the next person in line gets the nomination Making these appointments is one of the great privileges of being a congressman and I know from my own experience that all of my colleagues in Congress take these nominations very seriously In fact one of a congressman s most exacting jobs is choosing the proper candidates for the nominations from the large lists of very worthy boys who apply

I recall two years ago making my nominations for the Air Force Academy Each of the two senators and the thirty congressmen from California were allowed ten nominations making a total of three hundred and twenty and out of those three hundred and twenty only twenty three were to be chosen When the appointments were announced two of my appointees had made the grade One of them was a young man from Norco in Riverside County and the other was from my own home town of Westmorland I had known the boy from Westmorland all his life His family were close personal friends of ours and I knew of his fine record in school and it was therefore a great personal satisfaction to me to see his name among the successful candidates Unfortunately both of these boys were disqualified because of slight physical de fects the boy in Norco because of trouble with his eyes and the young man from Westmorland because of a hay fever condition

Since then I have made it a rule to advise all my applicants to take the physical examination before they make prepara tions for the very difficult and exacting competitive examina tions they must take I was glad to note a year later that the Defense Department had relaxed standards concerning hay fever and my young friend from Westmorland was nominated the next year He became a cadet in the Air Force Academy

tan to Kashmir We were pouring large quantities of supplies and military equipment into Pakistan and India was spending a great portion of her meager revenues to buy military equipment in order to balance the military situation between her self and Pakistan Inevitably on the part of both the United States and India suspicion and irritation grew

It was therefore only natural for me to wonder what kind of reception I would be accorded given the state of our relations with these nations I had no way of knowing whether I would be cheered or booed welcomed with warmth or just ignored by the Indian leaders and the people

In Holtville in the heart of Imperial County our friends gave a farewell party for my wife my daughter Ellie and me Quite solemnly and seriously I asked my friends to send their prayers after me and in their prayers to beg God to help D S Saund keep his mouth shut abroad I know that my friends either did not pray or if they did their prayers did not go to heaven because on my tour in the Far East and India I have never before in my life spoken more often or to larger groups and any louder

In preparing for my trip I was convinced that in the minds of the people of India and the Far East the Middle East and Africa there was no doubt that given the choice they would inevitably choose democracy and freedom They had worked and suffered hard to rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism Surely they wanted a way of life in which human dignity would be paramount and they could control their own affairs The blaze started in 1776 in the United States of America has spread all over the world There is no need for the people of the United States or their government to instruct Asians in the meaning and value of democracy In their hearts they already know But there is one burning question uppermost in their minds Are the American people ready and willing to accept them as their equals in every respect? If we are ready to answer that question in the affirmative we have nothing

to fear But if we have any doubts or reservations we have everything to lose and nothing to gain With these hopeful and apprehensive thoughts in mind we took off from San Francisco Airport on October 24 1957

I was making this tour as an official representative of the Congress of the United States I had been designated by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives as a one man subcommittee to tour the coun tries of Southeast Asia and study the working of the mutual security program in the area This facilitated my tour in a big way because the embassies in every country had been notified of my schedule and the USIA were prepared to meet me at each stopover They were a great help indeed if it had not been for the fact that I was traveling officially as a congress man and got the help I did, it would have been almost im possible for me to manage the heavy schedule

The Foreign Affairs Committee had provided first class plane accommodations for me while Marian and Ellie travel ing on their own, had to be content with tourist tickets Throughout the trip we had much fun allocating the first class seat among ourselves during different parts of the journey

Our first stop was Honolulu where our host was David Watamull the son of an old Indian friend of mine He along with the governor of Hawaii and the mayor of Honolulu, made our brief stay there very pleasant

From Hawaii we made the long ocean hop to Japan—seven teen hours in the air with a brief forty five minute stop at Wake Island At the Tokyo airport a Japanese official came aboard to tell us that a party of photographers newsreel men and reporters were waiting for us outside the plane I stepped off the plane to face an interview with a large group of re porters all of which came as quite a surprise to me and it all struck me as more of a reception than a freshman congressman warranted But I was to be continually astounded at the ex tent of the interest in my visit For example I learned that the

newsreel picture on our arrival at the Tokyo airport was subsequently shown in all of the eight hundred theaters of Japan as a regular newsreel feature

We were also honored at a reception given by our highly respected ambassador to Japan the Honorable Douglas MacArthur II Mrs MacArthur is the daughter of the late Vice President Barkley I had long been a great admirer of the "Veep and it was a real treat to meet and visit with his charming daughter

From Tokyo we flew two hundred miles to the Japanese city of Sendai, the adopted sister city of Riverside in my own congressional district The citizens of Riverside had collected funds to provide scholarships for sixteen Japanese girls at the University of Sendai We were greeted royally and the mayor treated us to an elaborate tea ceremony and dinner party The next evening we were the guests of the governor of the State of Sendai an extremely kind and gracious gentleman In fact, he insisted on driving us personally to the airport that evening in his official car

At Sendai we visited the headquarters of the USIA and talked with several leading businessmen and newspaper representatives in that part of Japan We also called on the Riverside scholarship girls They were a most attractive group and sent grateful greetings to their friends in California

In addition I was invited to address a meeting of the student body of the University Before I made my speech I asked for questions from the floor and I promised to answer each question if I could I was immediately asked about the Little Rock High School segregation turmoil which was in the headlines at that time I began my answer by reminding them that in thirty five out of the forty eight states of the Union there was no discrimination against Negroes in schools or public places

I immediately was interrupted by a professor who expressed doubt at this fact I reassured him as to its validity

and after sketching in some of the historic background of racial segregation in the United States pointed out that the vast majority of the American people disapproved of Gover nor Faubus action and that the President had taken the un precedented step of sending federal troops into Little Rock to enforce the law something no President had done for ninety years

Then I said My friends no matter where we may live whether it be in Japan in India or the United States of America there exists in one form or another injustice of man toward man And the people of the United States full well recognize they are faced with a very difficult race problem in their midst They are trying to do the best they can and I shall urge to my friends in Japan, and to people wherever I go to try to understand this difficult problem of the people of the United States just as they would want other people to study and understand their problems Instead of finding fault with each other it should be the duty of civilized men everywhere to resolve these injustices of man toward man There is no denying that the segregation of races in any part of the world is wrong and cannot be condoned and the people of the United States do not condone it I ended by again pointing out that segregation was limited to one part of the country where its roots are deep and will take some time to dig up Nevertheless we were working hard at the job and were determined to get it done

Later at a faculty dinner meeting I was asked why the United States insisted on testing H bombs at Bikini Islands This was a question I was to run into many times in Japan whose people were understandably sensitive on the subject

Once again I took some time in answering that question I reminded my listeners that it was the United States who in 1953 put before the United Nations a proposal for the p ful use of the atom then it was the United States ag 1955 who advanced the open skies plan for inspect

disarmament Clearly our primary interest was disarmament —the tests were a matter of military necessity Besides I pointed out the prevailing winds carry fallout not north and west toward Japan but east toward the United States Not only that a great number of our atomic tests were staged within the continental limits in Nevada

I was surprised to learn how many Japanese even the highly educated ones such as my professor friend were not familiar with American efforts in nuclear disarmament But I found that after I had given them the facts their attitude changed became less hostile more friendly Even so I was quite unprepared for the great amount of misunderstanding of America her actions and her motives If this was so in Japan it must be widespread throughout Asia I decided then and there to take every opportunity to remove those misunderstandings and tell the truth about the United States This would among other things be a small repayment on the big debt I owed (and still owe) the country of my adoption

I remember clearly my speech before the Foreign Policy Association in Tokyo During the question period that followed it soon became clear to me that a large part of my intelligent and cultivated audience believed me to be a very wealthy man indeed a millionaire I said that I was not a rich man just a small businessman making a good living

But how could I be elected a member of the United States Congress without being a millionaire? I was asked And I had to explain that in our country election to public office doesn t depend on a man s bankroll that campaigns are normally financed by the political parties which nominate persons for office only on the basis of their qualifications to serve and their ability to get elected In fact I pointed out that I had won my election running against the wife of one of the richest men in America

As a farmer I was very much impressed by the excellent rice crop that had just been harvested in the farm country

around Sendai I could tell from the size and uniformity of the stubble in the field how well the crops had been cared for It was remarkable how the Japanese put every inch of the ground to the best possible use They were excellent farmers

Luckily I was able to meet with the Japanese Secretary of Agriculture during my stay He told me that in Japan farming is naturally adapted to the growing of rice but that the people of Japan were becoming more and more accustomed to eating wheat "So" as he told me "we are beginning to grow wheat which is really not getting the maximum use of our soil

Mr Secretary" I said "why don t you buy your wheat from us? We'll sell you wheat we ve got plenty of it And we'll buy some of your products"

His face lit up right away "That s just exactly what we want he said If only the United States wouldn t put serious restrictions on imports of Japanese goods we could and would buy American farm products to say nothing of heavy American machinery"

I discovered that at that particular time there was a big fear in the minds of Japanese businessmen that the United States might impose severe restrictions on trade with Japan That was a point that was brought home to me by my talks with the ambassador and other officials at the embassy

From Japan after a short stop on the island of Okinawa we went to Taiwan (Formosa) There I had hoped to meet President and Mrs Chiang Kai shek but I was to be disappointed During my stay in Taipei the President and Madam Chiang were off on a hunting trip with the crown prince of Iraq I was not only disappointed not to see these world famous Chinese leaders but I did not receive any satisfactory answer to the one principal question I brought with me to Taiwan

In July 1957 a mob of the Taiwanese in Taipei had captured and kept under their control for several hours the American embassy situated on the main road in the city

They had torn and insulted the flag of the United States ran sacked the files and thrown papers away while the few American employees of the embassy had to hide in the cellar to escape the mob s fury This lasted several hours before the police and the military came to restore order I wanted to find out the reason behind this outbreak We knew the immediate cause was the acquittal of an American soldier who had killed a Taiwani he had accused of being a Peeping Tom But from my own experience in India I knew the cause of such outbreaks of mass violence go beyond one single incident I wanted to learn the hidden causes behind this sudden and inexplicable attack To my disappointment however I was unable to find any satisfactory explanation from anyone in Taiwan

We were handsomely feted at a beautiful villa in the mountains belonging to a member of the Chinese ministry There we met the prime minister and the foreign minister of the National Chinese Government

Taiwan is a model of what can be done for the economic improvement of the peoples of a country We were taken on a tour of several farms and visited a large village cooperative The government had expropriated the large land holdings reimbursed the original owners and sold the land to farmers in three acre lots at a fixed price which the farmers were allowed to pay off over a period of years This was the Nationalists land reform which was so much talked about and it could be a model for all Southeast Asia where almost all of the land is in the hands of rich landowners

We stopped to visit a farmer in his new brick home which we were told he had just finished building Behind the house was the old adobe hut he had deserted when he moved into this new home The new house had a cement floor and he had just finished cementing the entire front yard

I asked him how much he owed on his mortgage He said nothing that he had built the house out of the profits on his

crops of the past few years and paid for it as he went along

Before I left I spoke before a large group of students and was asked the inevitable question about Little Rock Everywhere I went on my trip that was invariably the first question that would be asked me about the United States Because I didn t know the language my chances to talk with the people of Taiwan were limited However despite this I did learn that the Taiwanese were not too happy with Nationalist Chinese rule over their island A good part of the difficulty stemmed from Chiang s large military establishment which we help support At a MAAG briefing I was told of the training the American Military Mission gives to the Nationalist Army I asked the admiral in charge if he really believed that if it came to a showdown the Chinese soldiers now being trained by us at the American taxpayers expense would fight where we wanted them to or would they insist on going back to the mainland? The admiral was quite confident of the loyalty of the Chinese but his answers were not too convincing so far as I was concerned

I have no quarrel whatsoever with our policy of maintaining close and friendly relations with the Nationalist Government of China at Taipei So-called overseas Chinese" are to be found in all the countries of Southeast Asia and Chiang s government provides for them a necessary alternative to the communist regime on the mainland We do have to support the Nationalist Government of China as long as we refuse to recognize the communist government of China on the mainland and oppose their entrance into the United Nations

In 1949 when Chiang Kai shek established his headquarters on Taiwan he had an army of 600 000 men That army was needed in order to protect Formosa in view of its strategic military importance But conditions have changed in the last ten years With the advent of atomic tactical weapons the development of faster than sound airplanes and missiles is it really necessary to maintain 600 000 men under arms for

dress a meeting of the Rotary Club Besides meeting the staffs of the American consulate and seeing the sights of that beautiful city crown colony of Great Britain I had the opportunity to visit a relief center managed by a committee of leading citizens of Hong Kong There my wife and daughter and I helped distribute two hundred CARE packages to a group of newly arrived refugees The name of the donor was printed on each of the packages and I was surprised and delighted to come across a package from San Jacinto a city in my district in Riverside County

The packages contained beans rice dried milk and cheese donated by the Commodity Credit Corporation from the surplus food held by the United States Department of Agriculture they were then packaged and managed by CARE while the United States Government shipped them free to Hong Kong Each package represented an investment of one dollar on the part of each contributor to CARE Seeing CARE dramatically at work in that refugee center in Hong Kong convinced me of how worthy and effective a relief operation it is

Our next stop was Saigon Vietnam Our government poured in $1 000 000 000 in cash to help the French colonial government maintain a French hold on Indo-China and keep the Communists from getting control of that strategic and rich rice bowl area of Southeast Asia But in spite of a gallant and heroic defense in which thousands of French soldiers lost their lives the French could not maintain their hold because the Communists played upon the nationalistic hopes of the people who sought to rid themselves of French colonial rule The Reds were able to stir up anti French feeling among the people and made it impossible for the French to maintain any kind of control In addition they were able to infiltrate the country and raise a small insurgent army

In spite of our $1 000 000 000 in aid and a tremendous outlay from the French treasury the French troops were finally

besieged and overpowered in the fortress at Dien Bien Phu Vietnam was divided into two parts Most of the refugees particularly including a large number of Catholics fled into South Vietnam with their heroic political and religious leaders

The United States Government helped to set up the govern ment of President Ngo Dinh Diem and that government has been maintained with our financial and military help Indeed three fourths of the budget of that small country of Vietnam with its population of 12 000 000 people is underwritten by American taxpayers

We staved several days in Saigon Shortly before we arrived there had been several bombing incidents attributed to com munist revolutionaries hostile to the presence of Americans in Saigon and Vietnam As a precautionary measure no American was allowed to travel about in Saigon unless accom panied by an armed soldier Thus wherever we traveled in Vietnam we not only had a chauffeur but an armed guard Ironically the life of an American was not safe in a country whose government in effect he was supporting

I remember talking to a merchant in Saigon He told me that he and his fellow shopkeepers resented the support we were giving to the official currency of Vietnam support which had cost us millions of dollars Widespread graft was the result the merchant told me and said that if for example he wanted to buy an American made electric motor he had to pay four or five times as much money for it as his neighbor ing competitor I asked him how that could be and he ex plained that this man had friends inside the government of Vietnam and could obtain American dollars at the official exchange while most citizens had to deal with the black market

We also visited the *hospital maintained* by a Catholic mission from Canada We were distressed to see the suffering of the patients but were inspired by the true missionary

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spirit demonstrated by the Catholic Fathers in maintaining these hospital facilities and ministering to these poor people For the refugees from the north they had practically built an entire town In addition to housing facilities they had put up a stone church simple but commodious as well as a community center where we saw people working weaving the fine silk cloth for which they are famous The heroism of the people and the leadership the Fathers were providing to their flock to enable them to make a living under hard conditions both were inspiring It was a marvelous experience

President Diem had just returned from a trip to India and the American ambassador arranged an audience for me We talked about an hour and a half mostly in French which the ambassador spoke fluently The President did speak a little English but he was hesitant to rely on it

He told us of the warm reception he had received in India and showed us a copy of the *Indian Statesman* the leading magazine in India which carried a very complimentary article about the President and which talked of the fine relations between Vietnam and India The President is a handsome man who looks much younger than his age He seemed to me a dedicated person operating under very difficult circumstances to build up a country for his people He is a bachelor hard working and without question much loved by the people

We also visited a big project where with American aid American engineers and a contracting company were building a military highway through the jungle and a bridge over a roaring river We saw the machine shop where American engineers and mechanics were training the Vietnamese and apparently the Vietnamese were picking it all up quite fast

At one place we saw where in the surplus stock of the retiring French Army they had found an old generator or a dynamo which they planned to use to supply power to the machine shop Fifteen Vietnamese with small hammers were

trying to build a gasket for this big piece of machinery I thought it wonderful to train those Vietnamese but as for efficiency and cost to the American taxpayer one mechanic s helper from Westmorland California it seemed to me could have done that job faster and better than those fifteen Vietnamese well intentioned though they were

At the time of our visit it had been raining and no work was being done on the road I saw a group of bulldozers and tractors and scrapers piled together in one yard and as soon as I got a good look at them I could see right then where our money was being wasted I would never permit any kind of a cost plus operation by a contractor who used such worn and dilapidated machinery We were told that in order to save money the contractors were trying to obtain surplus construction machinery from as far off as Japan But to me it seemed clear that the taxpayers were paying extra money because the machinery wasn t any good Frankly I did not particularly like any part of this operation I liked it even less when we traveled over the road for I failed to see the need for it or how it was to benefit the Vietnamese The answer I got of course was that it was a matter of military strategy If the American aid money was being spent in building a big modern road and bridge in jungle country where there are no automobiles it seemed naturally a great waste As for its military significance I m no general but I couldn t see how in this small country with 12 000 000 population an expensive military highway could be of much use in modern warfare

Clearly we are not getting our dollar s worth out of the money we have been giving It seemed odd to me that we should have been giving as much as twenty dollars per man woman and child every year to aid a land where after several years of such aid even the life of an American was in danger when he visited the country The political atmosphere was so tense that sentries were stationed at every building and street corner of Saigon If five years previously we had

lowed for a token United States force to be stationed in Viet nam I am convinced that we would not have had to spend such enormous sums for military assistance in a precarious area which I was told that in the event of an invasion from the north could be held at best for no more than ten to twelve days I found in Vietnam as I did in Taiwan a feeling of actual hostility and definitely not of any warmth and friend ship toward the people of the United States

Because those people were receiving such tremendous amounts of American aid from us I expected as an American to be greeted with warmth and affection But the love of a people can never be bought by military aid The only way to win the cold war between international communism and democracy in any lasting fashion is for us to win the hearts and minds of the teeming millions in that part of the world And you do not win hearts and minds by propping up dictators with gobs of military aid

I hesitated as to whether I should go as far south as Indonesia because at that time our best information was that Indonesia was all but lost to the Communists Nevertheless I went but with the expectation of finding anti American feel ing strong in that country But I found instead that the Indonesians were most friendly toward us Relations with our embassy and the mutual security staff were very cordial

At a briefing by the staff and heads of the different depart ments of our economic aid mission at Jakarta I learned that we had agreed to build a road for the Indonesians with Ameri can officials and engineers in charge In addition we had un dertaken to build several mechanical electric generating plants Having previously been told that the labor movement in Indonesia at that time was completely permeated by and practically under the control of the Communists I asked how they expected to be able to build and install these plants if the labor movement was completely under communist con trol? I couldn t see that Communists would allow it

And the answer was spontaneous Oh no we have no fears at all on that score They welcome us doing it We'll have absolutely no difficulty whatsoever

Thus Indonesia presented a situation where the people even though in part influenced by communism still knew what was good for them They needed American aid they needed those generators and their attitude was such that our officials could depend upon their cooperation in the work That was the kind of spirit under which I personally would want to give economic aid—to people who appreciate and know where it is coming from and why

Our ambassador helped arrange an audience for me with President Sukarno On the way to the President's summer palace we drove through some of the most fertile country I have ever seen in my life lush with green growth and rich with fruit trees The palace itself was a beautiful old Dutch building with deer roaming about right on the front lawn We were very cordially received by President Sukarno and had a most stimulating interview that lasted the better part of an hour and a half

At this time the country was in a state of wild excitement over the dispute between the Dutch and the Indonesian governments over control of West New Guinea President Sukarno was all afire about this problem He is known to be a powerful orator with the ability when speaking to a tremendous crowd of making them laugh one minute and cry the next I immediately saw those qualities I have always admired good public speakers and I watched his mannerisms even in this personal interview very closely

He looked at me and showed the palm of his hand and said Mr Congressman I have the people of Indonesia right in the palm of my hand Don't let them slip away"

He was indicating that he wanted American moral support for the drive of the Indonesian people to get control of West New Guinea

lowed for a token United States force to be stationed in Viet nam I am convinced that we would not have had to spend such enormous sums for military assistance in a precarious area which I was told that in the event of an invasion from the north could be held at best for no more than ten to twelve days I found in Vietnam as I did in Taiwan a feeling of actual hostility and definitely not of any warmth and friend ship toward the people of the United States

Because those people were receiving such tremendous amounts of American aid from us I expected as an American to be greeted with warmth and affection But the love of a people can never be bought by military aid The only way to win the cold war between international communism and democracy in any lasting fashion is for us to win the hearts and minds of the teeming millions in that part of the world And you do not win hearts and minds by propping up dictators with gobs of military aid

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Bangkok Thailand while I traveled alone to the Philippine Islands There I received a very warm and cordial reception An overflow audience attended the meeting of the Rotary Club in the Manila Hotel where I spoke governors senators and other high officials were among the guests In fact the governor of one of the states a young handsome and progressive man who had taken an active part in the guerrilla warfare against the Japanese accompanied me for the three days of my tour of the Island of Luzon

I arrived on the heels of the election of President Carlos Garcia for his first full four year term on his own right The President was holding a public reception and was in a gay mood when he received me at the presidential palace

I had the opportunity to see the rehabilitation work being carried on in the barrios or villages of the Islands At one barrio I was much impressed by the personality of a college graduate who had been assigned the task of organizing and assisting the community We met the leaders of the com munity at the community center which had been constructed under the supervision of this young man He showed us his hands calloused from working alongside of the villagers He clearly had won the affection of the people there I was quite amazed and astonished because the oriental educated class has traditionally been afraid of doing any physical labor Here was a brilliant and successful exception

At another barrio a doctor in the medical center was giving injections and treating the sick men women and children This happened to be the day of his visit When I inquired I found out that he had a regular M D degree and he was paid a very modest sum by the government to go from barrio to barrio to administer to the medical needs of these people

Having been a farmer all my life and since 1953 engaged in the chemical fertilizer business I could see immediately how some of the fields were suffering from the lack of nitrogen Also the difference between the size and quality of this

men to establish better business relations and contacts with the United States

From Calcutta we went on to New Delhi where we were accorded the same kind of enthusiastic reception from thousands of people at the airport and later from many different groups throughout the city I spoke before audiences at several colleges and business groups and, in addition addressed a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association

During our stay in New Delhi we also attended the ceremonies in connection with the marriage of the oldest son of my brother to the daughter of the then Indian ambassador to the Philippines Aside from the joy of the occasion I was pleased to find I still remembered the principal features of the ceremony but a few of the customs seemed to have changed The reception for example seemed to be in a more modern and elaborate fashion than in the old days

Then we set off for my own village where I had been born and spent my childhood Chhajalwadi in Punjab On the trip from New Delhi we were accompanied by representatives of the Columbia Broadcasting System as well as newspapermen The ambassador provided his personal United States Air Force plane for the flight from New Delhi to Chandigarh the new capital of Punjab We were met there at the airport by the chief minister of the State of Punjab an old friend and fellow student at the University of California in Berkeley Mr Partap Singh Kairon In the capital city we were guests at a garden party given by the prime minister Later a dinner was held at the home of the governor of Punjab I was invited to address the college assembly where I was introduced by the governor and the response was given by the chief minister It was truly an affectionate home coming to the State of Punjab

We made a side trip to the great new Bhakhra Nangal Dam being built under the supervision of a colorful American named Slocum Mr Slocum was on leave to the United States

at that time but he had sent me a letter through the ambassador offering his welcome and apologies for not being present during my visit The dam a most impressive structure (higher than our Hoover Dam) will provide electricity for a very large section of Punjab as well as irrigation water for over a million acres of land We saw the progress and met with many groups of engineers and other officials It was perhaps one of the neatest construction jobs I have seen We saw in operation a long conveyor belt carrying gravel for the cement Indians were handling the mammoth buckets and cranes in a masterly fashion I found out that to begin with when work on the dam started there were seventeen American engineers on the job and now there were only seven It was Slocum s aim to train Indians to take over and by now there were several thousand Indian engineers and operators in charge under Slocum s leadership

We then visited with the Maharaja of Patiala at his palatial ancestral palace My daughter Ellie was amazed at the size of the rooms allotted to us and the amount of marble and rich ornaments The Maharaja was our host at a buffet dinner and we met his beautiful wife and his two lovely daughters Then the Maharaja drove me over to a mass meeting in the city of Patiala where he gave me a wonderful introduction and I had a chance to make a short speech and answer some questions That night at midnight we left by rail for the city of Amritsar

It was a very comfortable overnight journey and the train was to arrive in Amritsar about eight thirty in the morning In my excitement I awoke early and looked out the window as the train passed through the old depots and stations and landmarks that I had known when I was a boy We were approaching what was to be our greatest reception There were thousands of people at the railroad station and we were profusely garlanded and crushed in the huge crowd to the point where our daughter Ellie was temporarily separated from us in the throng

bered and with whom I had lived in the village and attended school were not there for death had taken its toll In order to rush back and keep to our schedule we had time only for a hurried lunch in the old family home Three hours after we left the village it began to rain

After a meeting with some of Amritsar s leading business men and merchants we left the next day in a United States Air Force plane for Madras in south India where we were guests at the home of the American consul general A special feature of our visit was a press conference attended by sixty leading newspaper correspondents in the southern part of India as well as members of the legislative assembly of the State of Madras The questions they seemed most concerned with had to do with the American view of the Kashmir issue the American policy of sending arms aid to Pakistan and what my opinion was of Secretary Dulles recent statement that "Goa belonged to Portugal I answered as best I could and was glad to be able to point out that I along with many Americans disagreed with the Secretary s remarks but that it should not be construed as an indication that he was not a true friend of India for in all my dealings with him I had found his interest in India s continued welfare to be firm and sincere

On our return to New Delhi we attended several meetings including a welcoming ceremonial by the city council at which an incident occurred which typified the sort of reception my wife Marian and my daughter Ellie were accorded throughout our tour The ceremony was scheduled in the afternoon and Marian and Ellie had decided to stay in the hotel while I went on to the reception alone When I arrived at City Hall I was greeted by the mayor who asked after my wife and daughter When I explained that they had decided to stay at the hotel he expressed his regret and that of the crowd who wanted very much to meet and see these two American ladies So the entire ceremony was held up for some forty five minutes while the driver went back to the hotel to

fetch Marian and Ellie They were as always a big hit and I sometimes wonder if my reception throughout my tour would have been half as good if they hadn t come along

We were received by the President of India in his palace and we lunched at the home of Prime Minister Nehru In addition I had private conferences with members of the cabinet and two days before we left New Delhi I was invited to address the joint houses of Parliament an honor which is normally reserved for visiting heads of states

At the end of my talk I leaned over the podium and said My friends the people of the United States are extending toward you a hand of fellowship and friendship across the ocean Grab it while you can If democracy and freedom are to survive in this world there must be a close liaison between the two greatest democracies of the world the Republic of India and the United States of America"

Our last stop in India was Bombay Here again I found a deep seated desire on the part of the Indian businessmen to make the conditions in India easier and more inviting for American venture capital to come in and in general to increase trade between the two countries

As we traveled through different sections of Bombay I noticed that parks and squares were full of statues of British monarchs King George King Edward Queen Victoria and others I said to my host that it seemed remarkable that in spite of all the political turmoil India went through during her war of independence there was no damage done to those statues His immediate response was "These statues of British royalty are a reminder of history We can demolish those statues but we cannot destroy history and the people of India have no desire to destroy the history of their relationship with the British people

We were nearing the Gateway to India arch at the harbor of Bombay constructed in 1912 when King George V came into India through that gateway to be crowned the emperor

of India My host pointed it out and said I was here amidst cheering crowds of Indians when King George V came through this gateway into India to be crowned emperor I was standing here also when the last contingent of British soldiers left singing and playing their music as they passed through the same gateway going out of India amid the cheers of the people of India in 1947"

We left India on December 23 for Karachi Pakistan where we spent one day During the conversations with the American ambassador I was informed that Pakistan cabinet members were under constant fear of an invasion from India

This was contradictory to the impressions I had received during my talks with the cabinet ministers and thousands of other people in India It was my view that Pakistan as an independent state definitely was taken for granted and fully accepted by the people of India and they were perfectly content with the situation as it now existed In fact I felt it would be difficult to convince the people of India that the two countries should be brought together as one nation again

I told the ambassador and later officials in the Department of State that here was a chance for our government to perform a real service in the interest of world peace and the progress of democracy in that part of the world by removing this misunderstanding between the people of India and Pakistan Since that time thanks to the energetic leadership of Eugene Black president of the World Bank India and Pakistan have agreed on the joint development of the Indus River water which had long been one of the major points of dispute The visit of the President of the United States in late 1959 fortified the work which was so ably begun by Mr Black

When I tried to evaluate the results of my trip I asked myself this question Why should the people in Japan be interested in seeing newsreel pictures of a freshman congressman from the United States arriving in Tokyo? Why did the President of Vietnam the President of Indonesia and the

cabinet members and the leaders throughout the Far East receive me with particular consideration? Why did the people of India turn out in great throngs to greet my family and my self wherever we went? And why did the government of India invite me to address the joint houses of Parliament?

There could be only one answer The people of India and the Asiatic world knew the story of my election to the United States Congress in 1956 and were proud of the fact that a man born in India had been elected to that high office Further than that it seemed obvious to me that people are not proud of something they don t respect and love I could therefore only conclude that there is a great reservoir of respect and affection for the United States of America and its people in that part of the world but we must husband that treasure carefully and see that it grows and flourishes

IX

THE JOB AHEAD

WE are living today in an age when an unrelenting struggle between two ways of life is being waged on a vast scale throughout the world

America has been given the leadership of the free way of life based upon a democratic system of government that recognizes the dignity of man The other side is represented by international communism where a minority rules by force where free thought is suppressed and the individual is merely regarded as a tool of the state

This contest will be decided in the underdeveloped areas of the world—in Asia the Middle East and Africa Whichever side succeeds in winning the hearts and minds of the teeming millions of people who inhabit those parts of the globe will prevail

The era of colonialism has come to an end Its death knell was sounded on the fifteenth day of August 1947 when India and Pakistan became independent nations Since that time more than six hundred million people on the continent of Asia alone have achieved political freedom These people are now struggling to build their new societies The leaders of these

revolutions were inspired by the same ideals that burned so fiercely in the hearts of the fathers of our own great republic

The echo of the battle cries of American patriots No taxation without representation" Give me liberty or give me death" may be heard in deepest Africa and in the ancient kingdoms of Asia and the Middle East

The budding new nations growing out of the wreckage of colonial empires are one and all writing their constitutions on the American pattern

The Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights have been eagerly studied and widely copied

The new governments in Asia the Middle East and Africa are weak and their peoples are hungry There is nothing new about poverty and disease in those areas of the world These have existed for centuries What is new and significant is that the people are determined to do something about them

This is the age of rising expectations" These countries are inhabited by ordinary people who are looking for opportunities whereby they may be able to make a living and raise their families in relative comfort They will not be content to be serfs any longer They wish to own their land and be masters of their own destinies

I made it a point to follow as closely as I could the course of world history from the time of Woodrow Wilson to the present day I have watched the growing importance of the role played by the United States since she entered World War I in 1917 I have studied Wilson s 14 Points I am familiar with the beginning of the image of the League of Nations in the mind of that great American statesman its mutilation at Versailles and its final rejection by the United States Senate afterward

I was here in the United States and know of the events which led to our participation in World War II the signing of the Atlantic Charter the proclaiming of the Four Freedoms

by President Roosevelt the unconditional surrender of our Fascist and militaristic enemies in Europe and Asia and the interminable struggle with Soviet Russia ever since I watched with keen interest the adoption of the Truman Doctrine in sending military aid to struggling Greece and Turkey the injection of new blood into the economies of devastated western Europe through the Marshall Plan the enunciation of the Point 4 program by President Truman the entry of the United States into the Korean conflict and the workings of the Mutual Security Program

Since the end of the Korean War the United States has contributed nearly seven billion dollars through the Mutual Security Program to countries in Southeast Asia It is little known or understood by the American people that the major portion of this so-called foreign aid money was given to four countries with whom we have military pacts In round figures three countries in Southeast Asia with a total population of less than fifty million people received nearly six billion dollars ($120 per capita) of the amount expended through the Mutual Security Program while three other countries with a population of 600 000 000 received only one half billion (less than $1 00 per capita)

Following the same pattern of foreign aid linked with military alliances we have given hundreds of millions to the kingdoms of the Middle East

Heeding the advice of Abraham Lincoln *If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending we could then better judge what to do and how to do it* I wonder if it is not time for a reappraisal of our mutual security assistance program If our objective was to contain communism by providing military equipment through pacts with nations on the peripheries of Soviet Union and China are these military alliances as realistic today as they were a few years ago? Have conditions changed enough to take a second look? Do we or

can we rely on ground forces in western Europe to check Russia? By the same reasoning to what extent can the military forces of small nations equipped with obsolete World War II weapons at enormous costs to American taxpayers assist in repelling military attacks by their powerful communist neighbors? We may just as well recognize the hard fact that in today s world of hydrogen bombs and missiles the freedom of countries anywhere in the world can be protected from communist aggression only by the deterrent strength of the United States armed might

While I do not believe we can cancel our military alliances or cut off our military aid completely more emphasis should be placed on economic assistance to countries in underdeveloped areas with the purpose of building up the internal strength of these nations The only antidote to communism can come from a satisfied people loyal to their governments and dedicated to the principles of democracy This faith will develop only when the people can find solutions to their social and economic problems under a system of government where they enjoy those basic freedoms exemplified in our own Constitution

They must find ways to harness their rivers to bring water into arid regions to develop their mines and forests to produce steel build factories to grow three bushels of wheat and rice where one grew before to eradicate disease to educate the youth and find jobs for the people At the same time we must not overlook the urgent need of landownership reform and the creation of conditions whereby the people generally will have a sense of belonging

The institution of the Development Loan Fund during the past few years is a happy beginning in this direction

The *status quo* in the countries of Southeast Asia and the Middle East—which means for the masses grinding poverty and subjugation by landlords ignorance and disease is dead

In some instances in keeping with our own program of national security we may be obliged to give military aid to countries ruled by dictators But in such cases we should never permit the image of America as the champion of a democratic way of life to become in the least bit blurred

We should at no time relax our efforts to further our main objective which is to promote the rights of the individual to assist in the creation of societies where masses of people may enjoy a more abundant life and generally strengthen democratic institutions throughout the world

With that in mind I introduced the following resolution in the House of Representatives

Whereas the objective of the people of the United States is the attainment of a peaceful world where freedom of the individual and the dignity of man are recognized and where the State is the servant and not the master of the citizens Now therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) That it is the desire hope and expectation of the Congress that nations receiving military assistance under the mutual security program guarantee to their people freedom of speech freedom of religion and freedom of the press

This resolution had the approval of the distinguished chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee the Honorable Thomas E Morgan and was voted out favorably by the Committee with only one dissenting vote

I received a highly gratifying vote of confidence from the voters of my district in 1958 they gave me 63 per cent of the vote in re electing me to my second term in Congress

During my nearly four years in Washington I have had sufficient time in which to crystallize my ideas on basic national issues and fundamental aspects of American life

We must have an adequate national defense I firmly believe in a balanced budget but we should never subordinate the security of the United States for any budgetary consideration Being the second best military power on earth is not enough We must continue to negotiate for disarmament but we must never permit ourselves to get to the point where we may be forced to negotiate from a position of weakness

During my trip to the Far East I saw what a good job the United States Information Agency under the able leadership of Mr George V Allen is doing But our efforts in that field lag far behind the actual needs of the situation International communism is spending many times more money to sell its ways of life in that part of the world The American people too long have remained comfortably unconcerned about what people elsewhere think about our country It is high time that we recognize the urgent need to expand our program of public relations under the USIA and make a broader presentation of our democratic way of life

I believe the basic strength of the free enterprise system lies in the fact that Americans throughout their one hundred and seventy year history have enjoyed equality of opportunity We must continue to provide an atmosphere for the youth of America in which they can exercise the maximum of initiative and develop their individual faculties and talents to the fullest extent

I am a strong advocate of federal aid to education as a means to give our youth full opportunity for a high school and college education and to maintain a high standard both in educational curriculum and school equipment

It is a known fact a fact forcefully brought home by Mr Khrushchev during his appearance before the National Press Club in Washington that the Soviet Union today is producing twice as many scientists and engineers as we are in the U States We cannot permit this situation to continue

hand study of our water problems My positions on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and as chairman of the Water Resources Subcommittee of the California con gressional delegation afford me an unusual opportunity for effective action in this field

I have consistently and with all the force at my command, supported civil rights legislation in Congress There is no room in the United States of America for second class citizen ship In Uncle Sam s family there are no foster children All American citizens must enjoy equal rights under law Dis crimination of man against man in any form is repugnant to the ideals which all Americans cherish

All these matters touch in a greater or lesser degree on the crucial issues facing America today If we face them squarely and grapple with them fearlessly the future of the great political experiment launched by the Founding Fathers will be assured